

ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO
ANTIQUITY.
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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS, &c.

- I. *Observations on the JULIA STRATA, and on the Roman Stations, Forts, and Camps, in the Counties of Monmouth, Brecknock, Caermarthen, and Glamorgan. By the Rev. William Harris, Prebendary of Landaff, and Curate of Caireu.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, 1763.

IT is probable that Julius Frontinus, Prefect of the Legio 2^a Augusta under Vespasian, who was detached to reduce the Silures, and from whom *Julia Strata* is said to have been denominated, passed the Severn three little miles below Oldbury, at *Awst* passage, perhaps termed from that legion, *Trajectus Augusta*; as the Monk of Ravenna styles Caerleon *Isca Augusta*, and the Britons at this day call the month of August *Mis Awst*.

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B

AT

2 *Mr. HARRIS's Observations on the ROMAN Stations, &c.*

AT this passage Roman medals have been found; and from thence on the eastern side of the Severn, I conclude they failed down the stream three short miles to Charston Rock, or, as others term it, the Black Rock, where the new passage now lies; and I am induced to think so, contrary to the common opinion, because Roman coins are frequently picked up in the mud upon the rock or landing place on the Welsh shore by Charston Rock.

AGAIN, had the Romans crossed the Severn diametrically at Awst-passage to Beachly in the forest of Dean, as is done at present, or to Tidenham on the same shore, they would have had a second trouble, to ferry over the dangerous river *Wy*, where Chepstow bridge now stands, and where the tides always ebb and flow with uncommon rapidity, and sometimes rise to the perpendicular height of fifty feet and upwards from low-water mark; which seems occasioned by the rocks at Beachly and Awst-passage projecting farther into the channel of the Severn than any other part of the shore on each side, just above the mouth of the *Wy*, which precipitates the spring tide with great violence up this river; its rapid progress up the Severn being thus checked by the sudden interposition of these rocks.

I MUST farther observe, that when the Romans landed in an enemy's country, they generally fortified themselves in the first convenient place, that they might secure their footing in it. But by all the inquiry I could make, there do not appear any visible traces of a work of that kind at Tydenham, or near Beachly.

HALF a measured mile, however, below Charston or the Black Rock, or the New Passage (which are all the same) in Monmouthshire, stands part of a square camp close to Severn channel, with the ruined church of Sudbrook [a] in the center. The part next the water has long since been washed away by

[a] Perhaps South Burgh.

high tides and land floods, and in process of time they will probably carry off the remainder.

THE word *Portskewit* (the name of the parish in which New Passage lies) seem to confirm the whole; for in Jodocus Hondius's map of Monmouthshire it is termed *Porteskuet*, which I would read *Portis is Coed*, i. e. *Portus Ventea infra Boscos*, as another part of *Gwentland* was called *Gwent Uwch Coed*, *Venta supra Boscos*. This *Portis is Coed* being the only port in that part of *Netherwent*, as we now term it, before the building of *Chepstow*, which is plainly of Saxon original *Leapian Stow* signifying a place of traffic.

FROM the forementioned camp at *Sudbrook* to *Caerwent* (*Venta Silurum*) are three measured miles; to which if we add the other three short miles, it will make up six miles from *Aust* village to *Caerwent*, which better answers the distances of *Antoninus*, M. P. IX. a *Trajectu ad Ventam*, than that of *Tydenham* to *Caerwent*, which measures nine modern miles, especially when we consider the difference between the length of a modern measured mile and that of the Romans of a thousand paces.

CAERWENT is situated upon a small eminence, and of a square form; great part of the Saxon walls, especially to the south, have Roman bricks interspersed, and in some places are of a considerable height; great quantities of small copper coins of the lower empire, especially after *Constantine's* time, are dug up at different times; but I never met with one of any value. In an orchard adjoining the street was discovered, some few years ago, the remnant of a tessellated pavement about a yard over; the colours are lively enough, but the figure of a dog, or other animal, under a tree is very ill expressed.

AT *Caerwent*, the first Roman station in the country of the *Silures*, the *Julia Strata* probably began. It proceeds over the brook *Throggy*, or *Neadern*, as now termed, half a quarter of a

4 Mr. HARRIS'S *Observations on the ROMAN Stations, &c.*

mile due west towards Caerleon (*Ifca Silurum*) situated on the north bank of the river Wysk, or Usk, or Isk, not in a strait line like the military roads in the flat champain countries of England; for the Romans were here necessitated to suit their roads to the nature and disposition of the country they passed through; and it frequently happened, that instead of crossing an eminence diametrically, which they would have done had it been levelled to an equality with the surface of the adjacent country, they formed a semi-circle, and returned to the strait line again.

It must further be observed, that as there is but one great road that runs from Caerwent to Caerleon and Caerdiff, and through Glamorganshire, which has several camps situated upon and near it, from thence we conclude this to have been the *Julia Strata* of Necham. For it is not to be traced, like the other Roman roads, either by a bank thrown up above the level of the country, or by any pavements or causeways. No such remain; and if there be any indices of this being a Roman military way, they are only visible on the west end of the Stalling-down, half a measured mile east of Cowbridge (*Pontuobice*) where you have a most beautiful prospect (for which this country is remarkable); and you may see this road running in a strait, broad line, on the eminences it passes over, seven computed miles, and terminating in Newton Down. Having made these observations, to anticipate some objections that might be raised in the course of these researches into Roman antiquities; I shall proceed from the banks of Throggy towards Caerleon, and just mention the discovery of a Roman urn with ashes, and a few Roman coins of the lower empire in it [b], at Lanvair is Cŏed [c], a mile from Caerwent, and less than half a mile from the great road, since the year 1740. The position of it I could not be informed of in this part of Wales.

[b] Dr. Davies, of the Devises, picked up what medals were found in the urn, according to the information I received.

[c] *Ecclesia Mariz infra Boscos.*

As nothing material occurs to my observation from Lanvair is Cōed to Carleon, and I leave a description and survey of the antiquities of that noted Roman station to others who may have more leisure and the advantage of superior knowledge in this kind of study; I shall only take notice cursorily, that the present town of Caerleon lies more to the east than the Isca Silurum did, though it certainly occupies part of the antient city, perhaps its eastern suburbs. The body of it seems to have extended itself from the present town to the westward, and over the river Usk, beyond the house of St. Julian; the road to the river on west side of the town abounding in Roman bricks, and various other remains of antiquity. The modern name of the parish, in our ecclesiastical visitations, is *Langattock* [d] *juxta Caerleon*, which seems to confirm my assertion. The Saxons rebuilt it, or rather fortified the eastern parts of it [e], which is the modern Caerleon, but in whose reign I cannot determine; nor do I build any thing upon the fair silver coin of Burgred, lately dug up in the gardens of that town, having on the reverse,

MON
CENRED
ETA

as Caerleon does not seem to have been part of Mercia, being eleven computed miles on this side of Offa's Dyke, which terminated, according to history, at the mouth of the river Wy below Chepstow.

ROMAN bricks are visible in the remains of the Saxon walls, and medals are annually found in the gardens, with imperfect fibulae, &c. This summer an Antoninus Pius, with a Britannia on the reverse, inscribed among other titles TR. P. XVII. on the reverse, COS. II came to my hand; and several medals are in the cabinet of George Hanbury, esq; near Abergavenny. A great number of curiosities

[d] *Fanum Catoci*. De Catoco nostro consulas Lelandum Script. B. it. in vita Cadoci.

[e] See Rogers's Monmouthshire.

6 Mr. HARRIS's *Observations on the ROMAN Stations, &c.*

are in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Burgh lord of the manor; and a curious cornelian seal of Ceres,—*Spicis redimita capillos*, having her left cheek full and plump, and her left breast naked, round, and large, denoting the antient characteristic of *Mommaja*, *Altrix*, and *Alma*, was found here about twelve years past [f].

THE learned Dr. Gale tells us [g], there were subterranean vaults and caverns here; but after all my enquiry I could never hear of any such, though possibly there might have been some formerly cut out of the south rock, on the other side the present bridge, or the *Ultra Pontem* side, as the children term it at this day; and perhaps in the hill near the house of St. *Julian*, a little westward.

THERE is however extant, adjoining to the west part of the Saxon wall, the resemblance of an amphitheatre; the present height of it is level with the surface of the rest of the field, except to the east, where the bank or edge of it rises six or seven feet higher: the diameter is full seventy-four yards from east to west, and sixty-four yards from north to south; it is seven yards deep in the middle, and covered with grass on the sides and bottom; the sides are easy of descent, being a little sloped; and the proprietor of the ground, Mr. Williams, remembered to have seen, upon opening one of them in his father's life-time, a piece of a wall, which he judged might have been part of the seats. The inhabitants term it *King Arthur's round table*.

IN 1755, in a field by the river, west of the bridge, was laid open a Roman bagnio or sudatory; several of the bricks at bottom were hollow, and sullied with smoak, with a few little holes in them of the shape of a lozenge. There were in this room small pillars of a circular form, made of bricks four inches thick, and fourteen inches diameter, heaped one upon the other

[f] This seal is now in the possession of Mr. Lacon Lamb, of Hereford, or Bidney, whose father died lately Vicar of Caerleon.

[g] Ant. It. pag. 95.

like so many cheefes. Another room was opened, the pavement of which was tessellated, the tesserae all white and coarse. The room was shut up, and the floor left whole.

BRICKS all black, and subterranean leaden pipes, which conveyed water from the hill on the north side, were taken up several years ago, by Henry Tomkins, esq; late proprietor of the ground [b].

I HAVE heard, that a Roman bath was lately discovered in the next field; but the present proprietor would not permit it to be opened. On the north side, within less than half a mile, upon a hill, are the remains of a camp with double ramparts, the *Aestiva*, I suppose, of the second legion.

THERE were formerly three churches at Caerleon, one dedicated to the *Martyr Julius*, from whom the house of *St. Julian* took its name. Another to *Aaron* his fellow sufferer. Probably the third was the present one of *Langattock*, or *St. Cadock's*. See *Leland* about these Martyrs *Julius* and *Aaron*: the parish church of *Lhanbaran Glam*, (corruptly for *Lhan Aaron*) was dedicated to the last of these; and near the church there is a field termed *Kae Aaron*, *Aaron's Field*, to this day.

WHETHER the road from Caerleon to *Jupania* (*Caerdiff* according to *Mr. Baxter*, of most happy conjecture) crossed the *Uske*, where *Newport* bridge now stands, or went north about by *Malpas* (*a malo passu*) to the place where *Newport* now stands, I shall not attempt to determine; but am of opinion it passed the latter way, on the eminences above *Newport*; however, where *St. Woolas* church stands, are the remains of antient fortifications, as its present name *Careau* imports. I am since informed a road was some few years ago stopped up, which passed from *Malpas* by *Crinden* house, and a little westward of *Newport* led up the hill to the church of *St. Woolas*: and within half a dozen yards of the church-yard, which seems inclosed within the works, stands a lofty *Tumulus*, or *Arx Speculatoria*, on which a fair-spread tree grows,

[b] See *Gibson's Camden*, p. 725.

and from whence you have a commanding prospect above the mouth of the river Avon, that runs by Bristol, and below the Holms to the westward.

AT this place called *the Stow*, the road divides itself: the left hand road runs in the bottom, by Tredegar house to *Castleton*; so to St. Mellon's, where they unite just below the church.

ABOUT half a mile from the Stow, where they divide, stands a large circular camp, with three ramparts to the west, on a lofty eminence in Tredegar Park, the river Ebwy running at the foot. This and another little camp, half a mile westward, for a cohort, or the like, lie between both roads, each upon an eminence, and nearer the upper road than the other.

FROM St. Mallons, the road runs in a strait line to the village of *Rumney* [1], leaving the modern road on the right; and in a field near the bridge of that name, stands a little fortification on the right hand side, hanging almost over the river. Whether that place took its denomination from the *Romans*, or whether the river gave name to it, from *Rhemny*, to divide, I shall not take upon me at present to determine.

FROM Rumney bridge to Caerdiff, leaving the village of Roath on the right hand, are two short computed miles.

BEFORE I proceed to speak farther of Caerdiff, the *Jupania* of Baxter, and the supposed *Jupania* of the Monk of Ravenna, I must animadvert on the distances of Antoninus, from one station to another in this country; and observe, that they generally far exceed the computations of that Roman writer, supposing the *Millia Passuum* to be a thousand yards. For though the distance a *Venta ad Isca* be M. P. IX. according to Antoninus, which are at present little more than six computed, and nine measured miles, yet that M. P. XV. from *Isca ad Bovium* falls much too short; for

[1] Q. Whence the Kentish *Rumney* took its denomination? Somner, or Lambard, say, from the *Romans*.

there

there are, at least, from Caerleon to Lantwit, or *Bovium*, nineteen computed Welsh miles, which measure, like all our other computed miles, one third more; nor do the distances from *Bovium* to *Nidum* answer much better; for there are fifteen very long tedious computed miles from the one to the other, which surely is equal at least to thirty *millia passuum*. So that it is not to be wondered at, that Dr. Gale should cry out, "*Immane quantum hic errant omnes numeri!* [k]." The distance of xv. M. P. *a Nido ad Leucarum* comes pretty near the truth; but I submit myself in this, as in every other computation and criticism, to gentlemen of superior judgement; and profess myself a lover of these studies, but no connoisseur in them.

THE distance from *Nidum* to *Leucarum*, if you pass by way of Swansea, which may be three or four miles round about, is computed twelve miles at present: but if the *Julia Strata* ran over the hills, and the nearest way, it cannot exceed eight miles; which agrees very well with Antoninus's computation.

I HAVE lately heard of a fine paved causeway, of very considerable uncommon breadth, and forty or fifty yards in length, beyond a brook or river north of Swansea and the nearest way to Loughor. From *Leucarum* (Loughor) situated upon the river of that name to *Maridunum* (Caermarthen) are xv. M. P. in Antoninus. Whether the road ran over the hills, (as there are no traces extant to my knowledge either way, and I have frequently passed the three roads,) I shall not go about to settle; but if the road ran over Loughor Ford to Lanelly, Pont Anton, &c. over those hills, it does not exceed fifteen computed miles; by Kidwely and the sea side, it exceeds that computation.

FROM *Maridunum* to *Mantavis*, if Caermarthen and St. David's be thereby meant, are thirty-six computed miles, *i. e.* twenty-four to Haverford West, and twelve miles to St. David's.

[k] Anton. p. 124.

So much for these roads of Antoninus.—I now return to Caerdiff, which has no remains extant of a Roman Station, except the word *Caer*, which the Britons generally prefixed to the names of such places as were fortified by the Romans, the Saxons usually terming them *Cbeſter*, *Caeſter*, or *Geaſtre*. I lay no great ſtreſs on the medal, of Trajan in large braſs, in my poſſeſſion, found in the caſtle [1], the citadel of which ſtands upon an artificial mount, and of much more antient date than the preſent caſtle, which is of great circumference, and has been of conſiderable ſtrength before the invention of guns.

FIVE computed miles north of this place ſtands a Roman ſtation, *ad Latus*, that of *Caerphyli*, or the *Bulacum Silurum*, though others place it at *Buelht*. Mr. Edward Lhwyd judged rightly in terming it *Caer-vol* (which answers the Engliſh word *Kingſton*), in the genitive caſe *Caervyli*. To confirm this etymology, there is a farm houſe, two ſhort miles diſtant from this celebrated caſtle, termed *Kaer Vol*, the *Prince's Field*; and in contra-diſtinction to it another, *Kaer Marchog*, the *Knight's-field*, *Equitis Praedium*. Not far from *Caerphyli*, and in the ſame hundred, is a farm houſe called *Ynis y Bwl*, or *y Völ*, the *Prince's Iſland*, or a low, flat ſituation. On *Eglwys Ilan* Common, two miles from *Caerphyli*, have been lately opened, 1753, ſeveral tumuli, in which burnt bones have been found, but no medals. The urns were all broke by the workmen; they lay each upon a flat ſtone, and had another over them, and ſuch ſtones on each ſide.

Ynis Angharad, is another farm and houſe, I ſuppoſe formerly belonging to *Angharad*, firſt wife to *Jeſtin ap Gwrgan*, as *Dennis Powis*, who came from *Powisland*, was his ſecond wife. *Ynis*

[1] Since I wrote this, a gardener informed me, that at a great depth under a kind of half moon, which was taken down a few years ago in the garden of the late Mr. Lambert, within the caſtle, he found ſeveral broad, thick braſs and copper coins; which he gave his children, as uſeleſs and of no value.

signifies a flat situation as well as an island. *Liber Landavensis* [m] says, *Trev Elian* or *Eglwys Iſlan* was in *Sengbennith*.

ANTIQUARIES are surprized at the silence of historians with regard to this castle, when at the same time it occurs in Wynne's improvement of Caradoc of Lancarvon's History of Wales, 1697, in pages 200, 239, 244, and 247, under the name of *Sengbennith* castle. And to make it appear that Senghennith is the same with Caerphyli castle, I shall only observe, that Caerphyli hundred is called the hundred of *Sengbennith* in Welsh, and the north gate of Caerdiff town which leads towards Caerphyli is now called by the Welsh *Portb Sengbennith*, and the inhabitants of Lantrisant term the east wind *Gwynt Sengbennith*, or Senghennith wind, as blowing from that hundred. Whence it had this appellation of *Sengbennith*, I am at a loss to judge, unless it were from *St. Kennith*, or *Gbinith* [n] (*Gbinedus*), from whom *Langennith* in the west part of this country, where he lived retired, and erected a little monastery, and was canonized, took its name.

THERE is nothing extant of him at Caerphyli, but the name of Senghennith; but four miles off to the north are the ruins of *Kennynt* chapel.

ONE may conclude from the word *Caer*, that this place must have been fortified by the Romans, though I never heard of any medals, bricks, inscriptions, or any other remains of that people here. The parish church is dedicated to Helena (*Eglwys Iſlan*, *Ecclesia Helena*), and one of the chapels annexed is *Lanvabon*, importing the church of *her son* (Constantine), as *St. Mabon* [o], by *Helfton* in Cornwall. The other chapel is *St. Martin's*, in which chapelry Caerphyli stands.

CAERPHYLI castle in old Welsh MSS. is termed the *blue* castle in Wales, from the colour of the stone, as *Powis* castle is called

[m] P. 115.

[n] Of him see Leland, de Script. Brit. p. 60. and Tanner's Notitia Mon. p. 714.

[o] There is an ecclesiastic termed Mabon in the *Liber Landavensis*.

the red castle. In 1174, Prince Rees prevailed with several lords of Southwales to do homage to Henry II. at Gloucester, on St. James's day; of the number were Morgan ap Caredoc ap Jostyn, of Glamorgan, and Gryffith ap Ivor ap Meyric, of Senghennith.

THE ancient castle was raised by Rhees *vychan*, or little Rhees, 1217 [p]. The present building was erected in the year of Christ 1221, as appears from Caradoc [q], by John Bruce [r], the proprietor, son in law to Prince Lewelyn ap Jorwerth. In those ages the Flemings were the best master builders; and they were concerned in this present work, as appears from some thin brass Flemish pieces, which were lately found here, as well as at the late repairing of Landaff cathedral. This is confirmed from Godwin, who in his Lives of the Bishops, mentions Bishop Poor of Salisbury's sending abroad for workmen, to erect the present stately, beautiful cathedral, much about the same time: and when the old free-school of Leicester was taken down, within these twenty years, they found under the foundation great numbers of Flemish brass pieces.

THE present castle, within its old deep moat, is not of any great compass; that of Caerdiff, within its moat, being, I think, larger in circumference: but the outworks at Caerphyli are of great extent, and those to the east are of later erection, and the outside of the old moat; the works that lye to the north-east, have a moat of a more modern fashion before them; the gate on that side seems more recent, and does not run parallel with the inner gate of the castle and the eastern drawbridge (for there are two). These additional works possibly might have been erected by the younger Spencer lord of Glamorgan, who was besieged in this castle by

[p] Wynne's Caradoc, p. 244.

[q] P. 247.

[r] Or de Braiosa. Dugdale's Baronage. This family were lords of Gowerland, in this county, and erected the church of *Eglwys Brwy* near Cowbridge.

the Queen's and Barons forces, 1326, whom he forced to raise the siege [1]. Great part of the outworks are unfinished.

THE noted hanging tower has for several years past been out of a perpendicular in the middle; the eastern part of it projects from its base about ten feet, more or less.

I NOW return to Caerdiff, from whence the great road runs westward to Cowbridge. About two computed miles from Caerdiff, on the south side, and within 400 yards of the road, is a fine entire camp, which occupies the whole hill of ten or twelve acres: We call it *Caireu* (Fortifications) and the parish church of the same name lies within the works. They are high ramparts of earth all round the hill, which is a kind of oblong-square. They are single to the south, but very lofty, on which side the steep, narrow entrance lies; the *Porta Decumana* is visible to the west; on the north and west it had double ramparts, and treble on the northeast of the *Prætorium*, or general's tent, which is deep and entire, and of a circular form, with a very narrow entrance into it from the camp, at whose east end it lies.

I NEVER could hear of any piece of antiquity being dug or ploughed up here. A farm house stands within the work, and close to the church-yard.

WHEN any of the parishioners are carried to be buried, they are brought by the horse-way, as the present foot road is too steep to the north side; and at the gate of the entrance on the south, the coffin is taken off their shoulders, and made to touch the ground, and then replaced on their shoulders, and brought to the church-yard stile, where the minister receives them. I could never hear any reason for it, but that it was the practice of their forefathers; and all my arguments upon the occasion could never prevail with them to part with this silly custom, my countrymen being of all people in the island, I believe, the most tenacious of their antient customs and traditions. I am since informed, a statue of some Popish Saint formerly stood by the gate.

[1] See Camden.

14 *Mr. HARRIS's Observations on the ROMAN Stations, &c.*

Two computed miles to the west of Caireu, and in the parish of St. Nicholas, about 200 yards north from the great-road, and upon an eminence, from whence you have a most beautiful prospect every way, is a small camp, with a single rampart to the north, and something lower than it a little outwork to the east and south. It is to this day termed *Kae yr Gaer*, the field of the fortification; if it was Roman, it might have contained a cohort. Less than a mile west of it, and on the north side, upon a little eminence, is another lesser camp of the same name. From this place to Cowbridge nothing worth our notice has occurred to my observation, except the view of a strait road seven miles beyond, as beforementioned, from the Stalling Down just above the town.

ABOUT four computed miles north west of this latter camp, a large bed of iron cinders has been of late years smelted over again to great advantage, as the heat of our modern furnaces is more intense by the water motion of the bellows than in the Roman times; and under this bed (which lies near Miskin, the seat of William Bassett, Esq;) a coin of Antoninus Pius was found last year (1752), with a piece of fine earthen ware, charged with greyhounds, hares, &c. which the workmen broke to pieces.

COWBRIDGE, the *Pontuobice* of the monk of Ravenna, or *Pontuobice* more properly of Dr. Gale, lies in a bottom on the river Thawē or Thaw, at the mouth of which is the little port of Aberthaw upon the Severn. It is distant eight computed and twelve measured miles from Caerdiff.

THE learned Dr. Gale is of opinion [1], that the word *Pontuobice* is a corruption of the Welch *Pont y Vurwch* (as he should say) which means Cowbridge, though, for want of better knowledge of the Welch tongue, he terms it *Pont i bwch*, which is *Buck bridge*; and he certainly has not deviated from the truth, for though the town be at present called *Pontfaen*, or *Pontvaen* or *Pontmaen* (the labials, among the Welch, as in the Hebrew, being

[1] P. 125.

usually and with ease exchanged) which implies *stone bridge*, yet before the building of this present bridge, which has no sides, and is low, and pitched or flagged with small stones or pebbles after an uncommon manner, the town was in Welsh properly called *Pont y Vwuch*; and in the western extremity of the liberties of the corporation, in the way to Neath, there is a little bridge to convey land floods from an adjoining field or two, which is about three feet in diameter, and the height of the arch above two feet, which to this day is called *Pont y Vwuch*, or the *Bridge of the Cow*.

IN the gardens of this town a few Roman medals have at different times been dug up; one of Hadrian, of middle brass, I formerly presented to the learned Roger Gale, esq; and I have now in my possession another of the same Emperor in middle brass,

CAESAR TRAIANVS — — —
Rev. PONT MAX — — — S III
The Exergue BRITANNI.

A COMPUTED mile and a half beyond Cowbridge, near the great road on the left hand, and east of the Golden mile, is a square camp in the fields; and something resembling another imperfect one, lies on the west end of the Golden mile.

WITHIN less than a quarter of a mile of the former, at the east end of the Golden-mile, is a tumulus, called to this day *Twmpath Decar*, or a *billock of earth*.

THE first of these camps is termed *Gwael Hillis*, perhaps a corruption of *Gwael y Vilast*, which is a common name in this country, where any large stones stand on end in the fields, and where greyhound bitebes, I suppose, have casually whelped: *Gwael y Vilast* meaning the den or kennel of a she greyhound.

THREE computed and four measured miles and a half, from Cowbridge, due south, stands the station of *Bovium*, or *ad Latus*.

THE learned are divided in their sentiments about this station, some formerly placing it at Cowbridge, on account of the affinity

of

of the words *Bos* and *Cow*; others of late date have, for the same reason, settled it at *Boverton*; but, with submission to their superior judgement in other matters, I beg leave to dissent from them in this, and to place the antient Bovium at *Lantwit*, and that for the following reasons.

1st, BECAUSE there are no foundations of antient buildings at *Boverton*, which is a village in the parish of *Lantwit*, and a measured mile east of it; whereas *Lantwit* seems the skeleton of some large old town, there being several little streets of walls, with hardly a house standing, but the ruins of a great many. 2. Because there are five or six roads leading to it. A little westward of the church is a field termed *Kaer Deleweau*, or field of images; but I could never hear of any found there, after the strictest enquiry, though part of the circle round it be cut off by the sea, which is not a measured mile distant. 3. Because Camden says, coins of the thirty tyrants were in his time discovered near it. 4. Because this place before *Iltutus's* days [*u*] was termed, according to Dr. *Powel's* chronicles [*x*], the Lordship of *Beviarton*: And last of all, because there is a *Via Vicinalis* leading from hence to *Ewenny*, where it runs into the great road.

THIS road, which in most places runs in a strait line, has several tumuli on each side of it, especially to the south, which have given name to a village in the parish of *Monk-Nash*, called *Broughton*; *Beopgh*, in old Saxon or Teutonic, signifying *Barrows* or *burying* places, or fortified eminences. Pieces of rusty iron were found in the top of one of them a few years since. On the hill above *Ewenny*, where this by-road falls into the *Julia Strata*, in Mr. *Turbervill's* park, is an imperfect square camp; the foot of the hill is washed by a small river, and this camp has all the advantages required by *Vegetius* [*y*], having the benefit of a fine

[*u*] *Iltut* founded the monastery of *Lantwit*, or *Lahn Iltud*, A. D. 508. *Tanner's* Notitia, p. 712

[*x*] P. 127. He calls it the lordship of *Beviarten*, alias *Lantwit*.

[*y*] C. 22.

air, superior situation, with the conveniences of wood and water, as the camps in Lanternam-park, above Caerleon, and in Tredegar-park likewise have, as well as Caireu near Caerdiff. From hence the great road towards *Nidum* runs up to Newton Down, leaving the present common road on the right, and passing through the remains of the antient borough of Kynfig, which was demolished by Owen Glendour, and so near Magdalen church and over Sandy Burrows to *Margam* (perhaps *Mair Gwym*, *Vallis Mariæ*, as the church here is dedicated to the *Virgin*, and lies in a *Bottom*).

IN the road between Kynfig and Margen or Margam, lies the stone inscribed with POMPEIUS CARANTOPIVS, &c. as in Lhwyd's additions to Camden.

FROM Margam the road runs as strait to Neath as the nature of the country will admit, through Aberavon parish.

I CANNOT pass by Aberavon without mentioning a ridiculous, superstitious belief of our common people, that every Christmas-day in the morning, and at no other time of the year, a large Salmon exhibits himself in the river which runs by this little corporation, and permits himself to be handled, and taken up by any person; and this has been attested for a certain truth, by persons who have actually touched him; but who thought it the greatest impiety to arrest his person and take him prisoner.

THE like happened last month, December, 1751, in the River Ogmore, below Ewenny, where a large Salmon suffered himself to be taken out of the water upon dry ground, and when they had tied a silk red ribbon about his tail he was dismissed, and could not be found soon after. But they burnt straw, &c. to look for him before day light, and it is well known all fish will swim directly in the dark towards any light; by which they are frequently taken, as well as birds.

I NEVER could hear that there is any thing antique to be met with at Neath, or *Leucarum* (Loughor) except the remains of two

large castles, that of Loughor being much the largest. Both places seem denominated from the adjoining rivers of the same name: nor have there been any other remains of the Romans found at Caermarthen; but 3000 medals were dug up at *Cunvil*, or *Kynwil Gai* [x], four miles distant from thence, last year. They were of Gallienus, Salonina, and several of the thirty tyrants, and the largest were those of Carausius and Allectus; all of small copper, and of very little value.

WHEN Allectus called off his troops from this part of the isle, to make head against Constantius Chlorus, who was sent to reduce him, I suppose they left this money behind them, as they were prohibited to carry more than a certain small sum about them to battle.

SILVER and mixt coin, whereof I have a dozen of Hostilianus, Gallienus, Gordian Licinius, Valerian the younger, reverses, Jovi Crescenti, and Divo Volcano, Salonina, &c. were found by Landover, seven or eight years past; and fifteen years ago great quantities of the Lower Empire were found in a quarry in this country, near Landebie, and Landevane Bath. Giraldus Cambrensis mentions, that Carmarthen was *antiquitate suspicienda, coctilibus muris partim adhuc extantibus egregie clausa, supra nobilem Towyum fluvium*. Whether these brick walls, which were long since rased to the ground during the intestine wars of the antient Britons, were Roman [y], I cannot tell, nor have I any thing farther to observe betwixt this place and St. *David's*, having never travelled that way.

THE more effectually to curb and reduce the Silures to obedience, we find the Romans formed two chains of garrisons. Both

[x] Mr. Lhwyd suspects all those places in Wales that terminate in *o* or *ia* to have been visited by the Romans, as Lhannio, *Luentinum*, &c.

[y] There was no other brick but old Roman in the time when Giraldus flourished, nor till long after; consequently these walls must have been a Roman work.

began at Caerleon; one ran through the south part of their country, which lies near the Severn sea, which I have just now traced in the best manner I could. I shall endeavour to do so on the north, and in the center of their country along the river Usk, and begin with *Burrsum*, five computed, and seven measured miles and an half from the *Isca Silurum*, and xi. m. p. of Antoninus. This *Burrsum*, or as in Welsh *Brynbiga*, is the present town of Usk, situated on the eastern bank of the river of that name. No man living has ever heard of any reliet of the Romans being discovered there, or in the neighbourhood, unless it be the uncommon epitaph upon the brass plate now chained to the wall within the church, which runs as follows:

*Nole clodde yr Esbrod Caerlleon Advocad
Lawnbaed Lundain a Barnwr Bedd
Breint apur Ty'n ev Aro, Ty Hauale
Selif' Synwoepr Suma Seadem Usk Avall
Kylche Dec & Kymnyde Doctur Kymmen, Leua loer i lawn O leue.*

THUS explained and translated by the celebrated Dr. Wotton:

'Synwoepr, or *Synwybr*, a word compounded of *Syniaw* and *Wybyr*, i. e. *Gelos contemplari*. The South Britons and Cornish pronounced it *Eabr*, or *Wybr*. See Lhwyl.

* *Gaval. i. e.* Services due from tenants to their lords, in the old British called *Kylche*, which name they retain at St. David's to this day.

“*Noli effodere Professore (Scientiarum) Caerlegionensem,
Advocatum dignissimum Londinensem, & Judicem Sacri Privi-
legii (vel Cancellarium) apud Fanum Aaronis, & Fanum Julii,
(potius forsan Avaloniae) Solomonem Astrologum, Summum
vel Praepositum Civitatis Usk, tenentis circiter decem Com-
motes, Lunam lucidam in plenilunio lucentem.*”

For the better illustrating this obscure Epitaph, it will be re-
quisite to consult Mr. Camden's quotation of Alexander Elfebienfis,

who no doubt had it from some British records now lost; and says, that a little before the coming of the Saxons, there was at Careleon ar Wyfk, a school of 200 philosophers, who, being well skilled in astronomy and all other sciences, diligently observed the course and motion of the stars; and it is not unlikely that this *Selif Synwybr* was long after remembered by our British poets, who generally kept memoirs of these things, and that it was this very man who was called by them *Ben* (or *Pen*) *Sywediddion*, i. e. Solomon, the prince of astronomers[*z*]. Neither is the unusual address to this epitaph of any great force to make us doubt this reading of it. For it is frequent enough in old sepulchral monuments to use this form, *Rogo ne sepulchri umbras violare audeas; assint quieti cineribus tuis*, &c. as may be seen quoted by Mr. Lhwyd, from Signior Fabretti's ancient inscriptions. Now the British language, at the making of this inscription, seems to have been greatly corrupted by the provincial Roman, which indeed could not be otherwise; the Roman nation and language having in that province of a long time mixed and coalesced with ours; inso-much that our own words must alter in their proper sound and terminations, as well as theirs, as we find some words to have done, in this short sketch of our then broken language. If my reading *Advocad Lundain* be true, it must be before the Saxons came. Thus far the learned Wotton[*a*].

A MILE

[*z*] See Davis on the word SYWEDIDD.

[*a*] This inscription, copied from a more antient one, and here exhibited, is engraved on a brass plate, let into a piece of solid oak of the same length and shape. It hung in the portreve's seat in the church, but is at present fixt in the partition between that seat and the chancel. The Secretary communicated to the Society the opinion of some unknown critic, who supposed that the inscription, though written at length, consists of two distichs, or stanzas of verses, as well from the measure and jingle, as from the strain of composition. The phrase *Lunam lucidam in plenilunio lucentem*, seems to favor this conjecture (as it does also the tradition relative to the 200 astronomers); no elegy being more poetical, or more proper for a professor of astronomy, than the comparing him to one of the great lumina-

Noledode yrethode yareleynadu
ocade llaik n hadelhandeyn **E**lanuor
bede byntaple tynenaroty yagabe
Seliff sunnoer sume sradau y
skevalknlke **D**ekekummo
doctor kynnen levaloei lloikn olene

unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam

habemus in christo et in ecclesia eius

et in ecclesia eius in christo et in ecclesia eius

et in ecclesia eius in christo et in ecclesia eius

et in ecclesia eius in christo et in ecclesia eius

et in ecclesia eius in christo et in ecclesia eius

A MILE and an half north west of the present town of Usk, and west of the river, is a large camp, called *Craig y Gaerkig*; near it stands Stavernen house, where Roman coins have been found.

THE next station of Antoninus, is *Gobannium*, or *Gebannium* of Mr. Baxter more properly, which is fixed at *Abergavenny*, where the rivulet Geveny or Keveney falls into the Usk. It is seven computed, or ten measured miles and an half distant from Usk town, and M. P. XII. of Antoninus.

HERE are no traces of antiquity, nor any heard of in the memory of man, except the ruins of a large castle, situated between both rivers.

To the west, upon the river Usk, at the influx of the river Honthy, stands *Brecknock*, twelve computed, and nineteen measured miles and an half distant from *Abergavenny*; and three measured miles farther west, where the river Ysker falls into Usk, are the remains of an old fortification, called the *Gaer*; and here, with humble deference to the judgement of the great Cam-
luminaries, which had been the subject of his contemplation. We may therefore read it thus:

Nole Clode yr Ethrode Karlleyn Advocade llawnhade Llundeyn,

A Barnwr bede breynt apute ty nev Aro ty Havalie.

Selis Sunoeir Suma Seadam Uske eval kulke:

Deke kummode Doctur Kymmen llewa loc i llawn oleve.

Or perhaps better thus,

Nole clode

Yr ethrode

Karlleyn.

Advocade

Llawnhade

Llundeyn

A Barnwr bede breynt apute

Ty nev aro Tis havalie.

Selis sunnoier sum a seadam Uske

Eval kulke

Deke Cummode

Doctur Kymmen, llewa leo i llawn oleve.

den,

den, Gale, Baxter, and others, I propose to fix the Roman station of *Magnis*, for the following reasons.

NOTHING Roman was ever found at old *Radnor*; and Camden had no reason to fix the *Magnis* or *Magi* there, but from the affinity of the word *Magos* and *Magetæ* [b]. Dr. Gale follows Camden; but Mr. Baxter places it at *Lidbury*, where there are no more remains extant of the Romans than at *Radnor*. What he builds upon, are the distances from *Gebannium* to *Magnis*, which, according to Antoninus, are *xxii m. p.*; now the modern computed miles from *Abergavenny* are twenty-two, which are thirty-three measured miles, so that nothing can be inferred from the distances. His other reason, is a derivation from I know not what *Magi* or *Main-Isf*, which forms *Magnisf*; but this is all meer conjecture, and nothing certain can be collected from it: there is indeed a rivulet, which I look upon to be too inconsiderable to denominate any station from.

BESIDES, by this rule, a person may place *Magnis* wherever he pleases, provided it be between twenty and thirty measured miles from *Abergavenny*, and lies upon any rivulet in *Hereford* or *Radnorshire*. For any rivulet may be termed *Main Isf*.

THE distance from *Abergavenny* to Old *Radnor*, answers as ill as to *Lidbury*, it being about twenty-seven or twenty-eight computed miles, which is one third more of measured miles.

IF the distances are to settle the dispute between *Ledbury* and the *Gaer*, I must observe, the distance from *Abergavenny* to the last place is twenty-two measured miles and an half only, which puts the matter out of dispute in that respect.

BUT this I lay not so much stress upon, as what I shall now mention.

THE *Gaer*, is a fortification of an oblong square, containing about eight acres of ground; it was walled and moated round;

[b] We now term *Radnorshire* *Sir Macsevet*, or *Maesfed*, *Campus Bibulus*, from its thirly barren soils.

part of the wall is still extant, eight feet high, and ten feet broad, upon a rising ground north of the Usk, and is the boundary of Roman forts upon that river.

SOME brass coins were formerly found here, as the country people aver, but are now quite lost: and Roman bricks, of an equilateral square, are often found on ploughing up the ground, having *LEG. II. AVG.* insculped or impressed on them, with some kind of instrument; one of the Gaer bricks I have seen in the possession of John Hughes, esq; a blind gentleman of Brecknock. I have a flat brick, of an inch and a quarter thick, found at Caerleon, hollowed in the same manner.

I SHALL add, in confirmation of the whole, that some authors add the word *Castris* to *Magnis*. And this fort or station, in some ancient grants, is termed *Vasla Civitas*.

In a charter of Bernard Newmarch, the Norman Conqueror of the land of Brecknock, to the church and monks of St. John's in the town of Brecknock, we find him granting this place, in the following words [c]:

“Praeter haec dedi quandam *vaslam civitatem* quae vocatur “*chaer*.” In another charter, to the same church and monks, by Roger Earl of Hereford, lord of Brecon, and grandson of the said Bernard Newmarch, he grants them, “quandam *vaslam civitatem*, quae vocatur *Carneys*,” and in another charter, by the same Roger, it is granted amongst other donations, in these words, “cum quadam *vasla civitate* quae vocatur *Chaer*.” From all which it appears to have been a place of note (if it was not the *Magnis* itself) and well known to the Romans; and afterward to the Normans, as of great eminence and antiquity.

THREE computed miles to the south west, a farmer of the parish of *Devynnog* ploughed up five years ago a pot full of copper medals, which are dispersed about the country. I have picked

[c] *Monasticon*, Tom. I.

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up six or seven of them, one of M. OTACILLA SEVERA AVG.
REV. CONCORDIA AVGG.

IN the high road near the Gaer, stands a large stone endways, with the figures of a Roman in armour, and his wife. They are full and strongly expressed; but the letters so defaced, that, I am informed, nothing can clearly be made out, except that the inscription is in Latin, that they were man and wife, and their habits Roman [*d*].

THERE are two other forts or garrisons, which run from *Caerleon*, through the north part of the country of the Silures, *Blestium* and *Ariconium*.

THE former (*Blestium*) Antoninus places M. P. XI. a *Burrio*, *Ulk*; Dr. Gale fixes it at *Old Town*, or rather, as we term it, *Old Castle*, which is an independent parochial chapelry, in the county of Monmouth, formerly the residence of the famous reformer, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, temp. Hen. V. It is distant from *Burrium* (*Ulk*) twelve computed miles, by way of *Gebannium*, for there can be no other road; and these twelve computed are full eighteen measured, which does not at all agree with Antoninus, who is in general extremely erroneous. A mile or two east of *Oldcastle* stands a large camp, on a hill called *Campston* hill, where some years past a few silver medals of the Upper Empire were found. And within these ten years, was found near *Oldcastle*, a pot full of medals of the Upper Empire; one of AELIVS CAESAR of middle copper, on the reverse T. R. POT. COS. II. and CONCO in the exergue, is now in my possession.

ARICONIUM, which terminates the chain of garrisons on the north part of the country of the Silures, is universally acknowledged to be *Kenchester*, in Herefordshire.

[*d*] See an account and drawing of these figures, by John Strange, esq; in the first Volume of the *Archaeologia*, p. 294.

II. *Observations*

II. *Observations on an Inscription at Spello.*

By F. Passarini, and Roger Gale, Esq;

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, April 2, 1727.

THE late earl of Colerane presented to the Society a collection of inscriptions given to him by Ferdinand Passarini[a], who transcribed them from stones found at Spello, the ancient Hispellum, and illustrated them with short notes. The first and most considerable of them on a pedestal six palms high and four square, with a hole in the top, formerly standing near the amphitheatre, but at this time on the right hand of the door of the town-house, had been before incorrectly published by Fabretti. A fuller and more critical commentary upon the same inscription was afterwards drawn up by the said Roger Gale, esq; which, being read to the Society, was entered in their minute book, whence it is now published, together with the notes by the antiquary of Spello :

[a] He caused to be engraved, with a short comment, a curious stone found at Spello, with this inscription in large capitals,

SEXT. AVREL.
PROPERT.
SEX. F. LEM.

under a head, supposed of Apollo, in relief, above which, in smaller capitals, L. COMINIUS. S. L. F. F. LEM. and in the pediment a flower between two capricorns. This stone was found June 7, 1722, in the ruins of a spot without the town called *Paeta*, and by tradition considered as the villa of Propertius. Passarini published likewise a short piece in eight pages quarto, “*de Hispello, ejusque episcopis, ac de insignis ecclesiae collegiatae, S. Laurentii origine, dignitate & praerogativis. Fulginiae, 1724.*” 4to. These two pieces are bound up with the Inscriptions.

C. MATRINIO. AVRELIO
 C. F. LEM. ANTONINO. V. P.
 CORONATO. TVSC. ET. VMB.
 PONT. GENTIS. FLAVIAE
 ABUNDANTISSIMI. MVNERIS. SED. ET
 PRAECIPVAE. LETITIAE. THEATRALIS. IN. COL.
 AEDILI. QVAESTORI. DVVMVIRO.
 ITERVMQ. Q. I. D. HVIVS. SPLENDIDISSIMAE
 COLONIAE. CURATORI. R. P. EIVSDEM
 COL. ET. PRIMO. PRINCIPALI. OB. MERITVM
 BENEVOLENTIAE. EIVS. ERGA. SE
 VRBS. OMNIS. VRBANA. FLAVIAE
 CONSTANTIS. PATRONO
 DIGNISSIMO.

Λ — — — — —
 — — — — — I. X. X. L. M. P. P.

PASSARINI'S Notes.

L. 1. Aurelia familia patricia ex patribus conscriptis. 2. LEM. i. e. LEMONIA tribus sexta Romæ; sic appellata a paga Lemonio, qui est a porta Camena, via Latina. LEMONIA tribus rustica. Rusticæ nobiliores Urbanis. Coloniam Juliam Hispellum adscriptam fuisse tribui LEMONIAE, uti & BONONIAM, patet ex isto et sequentibus lapidibus. 3. SED ET. Justus Rickius in Primitiis Epistolicis, Col. Agr. 1610. f. 69. posuit SEDEM.

Eruditissimus Raphael Fabrettus, Antiq. Inscript. p. 105. mutilam dedit hanc Inscriptionem, quam egomet ab ipsa marmorea basi, ut & ceteras, ad amussim & religiose exscripsi. Nam 3. pro CORONATO posuit CORRECTORI & 6. pro IN COL posuit F. O. Idem eruditiss. Fabrettus hoc epigramma nuper repertum *Fulginiae* non tantum asserit, sed & Fulginates ut ignaros de re tanti momenti redarguit. At pace tanti viri ipse potius redarguendus, quod illud non viderit impressum ab eruditissimis viris J. Rickio & Thadeo Donnotta[?] in sua Apologia, impressa Fulginiae 1645, aliisque in auctori-

[4] He wrote a history of Spello, still in MS. as is another by Faviti Gentili.

bus. Attamen non vidisse parum : sed, quaeso, in quibus unquam libris vidit Fulginiam splendidissimam coloniam amphitheatra habuisse.

Quod Hispellum fuerit colonia, et splendidissima, hae sequentes Inscriptiones, omnesque autores testantur.

Mr. GALE'S Comment.

L. 1. V. P. Viro perfectissimo. *Perfectissimus* erat 4^{us} inter 5 dignitatis gradus a Constantino Magno institutos, ut plerique velint. Tres priores erant *Illustrissimi*, *Speculabiles*, & *Clarissimi*, 5^{us} *Egregii*. *Perfectissimi* tamen titulus longe ante Constantini M. tempora in lapidibus occurrit, imperante Alex. nempe Severo [c] & Gallieno [d]. Quemadmodum itaque Constantinus M. tres *Comitum* ordines invenit, in totidem etiam credendum est ab eo *Perfectissimorum* classes divisas. Erant enim 1^{us}, 2^{us} & 3^{us} ordinis perfectissimi.

L. 3. CORONATO. TVSC. ET VMB. PONT. GENTIS. FLAVIAE. Coronas induebant imperatores ob rem bene gestam ; militesque etiam privati ob eximia aliqua in bello merita a ducibus suis laudabantur, qui & eos pecuniâ, armillis, torquibus, hastis puris, coronis, alios aureis, alios argenteis donabant : in hac vero epigraphe coronatur Aur. Antonius Tusciae & Umbriae pontifex gentis Flaviae. Suos habuerunt sacerdotes provinciae [e] proprios, quorum summus Pontifex vocabatur, cujus & inter consecrationis ritus & ornamenta locum habuisse coronam apparet, si Prudentium *works* 5th p. x. 1011, audiamus :

Summus sacerdos nempe sub terram scrobe
Actâ, in profundum consecrandus mergitur
Mire insulatus, festa vittis tempora
Nectens, coronâ tum repexus aureâ.
Cinctu Gabino sericam sultus togam.

[c] Fabrett. Insc. p. 278.

[d] Gruter, p. CLXVI. 2, and CCLXXXI. 7.

[e] FLAMINI. P. H. C. i. e. provinciae Hispaniae citerioris. Grut. p. CCCCLXXIX. 2.

Collegia & sacerdotes in adulationem Augustorum institutos frequenter invenimus, inter supremos quibus afficiebantur honores. Tales Divo Hadriano Antoninum Pium tribuisse scribit Spartianus; atque hinc toties in lapidibus Sodales Augustales, Flaviales, Trajanales, alique quamplurimi occurrunt [f]. Domum in qua natus erat Domitianus in templum gentis Flaviae convertisse tradit Suetonius; nummique excusi sunt templum sex columnarum cum epigraphe AETERNITAS FLAVIORVM exhibentes [g]. Collegium itaque sacerdotum inter Tuscos & Umbros habuit gens Flavia, vel statim sub Domitiano; illudque per cc & ultra annorum seriem ad Constantii usque tempora propagatum, vel, quod mihi magis probabile videtur, tunc primum obtinuit, cum rursus ad imperii fastigium familia Flaviorum in Constantino M. evecta sit. Quidni etenim cum passim ut NUMEN [h] coleretur, & templa & sacerdotes suos haberet imperator ille Christianus, Romanorum Idololatriâ nondum radicitus excisa, donec & collegia everteret, & sacerdotum reditus fisco suo Theodosius sen. adjudicaret. Sub Constantini successoribus religionem hanc & dignitatem floruisse testatur hæc nostra satis Inscriptio, filio ejus rerum potiunte, exarata: ut de aliis illis eodem tempore Arcadio & Proculo positis taceam [i].

5. ABUNDANTISSIMI. MVNERIS. SED. ET. P. I. T.] Munus proprie de gladiatoribus & bestis in amphitheatro exhibitis dicitur. Per *theatralem laetitiam* hic expressam ludi scenici in theatro acti designari videntur. "Ludis publicis (quod sine curriculo & sine corporum certatione fiat) popularem laetitiam in cantu & fidibus & tibiis moderanto [k]." Quamvis enim 7^{mo} imperii sui anno gladiatores e toto orbe Romano submoverat Constantinus, in arenam rursus sub filio ejus, Constantio, quem Marcellinus [l] cruentis delectatum

[f] V. Gruter, p. cccxciii. 1. p. ccxxxvi. 9. p. ccccxvii. 12. p. mxxv. 12. &c.

[g] Oeco, p. 126.

[h] V. Grut. p. cclxxxiii. cclxxxiii, &c.

[i] Grut. p. cccclx. 4. p. ccclxi. 1. & cccclxxxiii. 2.

[k] Cic. de Legib. II. 41.

[l] L. xiv.

fuisse ludicris tradit, irreperant; eosque penitus tandem Honorius abolevit. Qui magistratus non essent, illis, nisi funeris causa, ludos edere non licuit: pontifices vero ob honorem sacerdotii ludos dare potuerunt. Nequaquam tamen Antoninus noster ludos hosce Hispellatibus, vel ut pontifex, vel suis impensis fecisse videtur, sed solummodo tanquam aedilis coloniae, cujus ex officio erat spectacula istiusmodi popello inhianti parare.

8. ITERVMQ. Q. I. D. *Iterumque Quæstori juri dicundo.* Bis fuerat Antoninus quæstor jure dicundo coloniae. Quæstores urbani jus non dicebant: provinciales autem juredicundo conventus circumibant, et hinc posteris temporibus provinciae vocabantur *Jurisdictiones*.

9. CVRATORI. R. P. *Curatori Reipublicae ejusdem coloniae.* Curatores Reipublicae coloniarum e decurionibus creati sunt, eorumque praecipua erat cura coloniae praedia locare, redditus colligere, res publicas a privatis occupatas vendicare, aedes publicas reparare, justum pretium venalibus statuere, aliaque ejusdem generis plura quae ad communem utilitatem civitatis spectabant, administrare.

10. PRIMO. PRINCIPALI. *Principales civitatum vocabantur qui modum tributum ab iis solvendi definebant, aliosque onerabant, aliosque levabant vectigalibus.* Cum vero *primus* hic dicitur *principalis* pluribus id negotium demandatum fuisse constat.

12. VRBANAE. FLAVIAE. CONSTANTIS. De nomine *Flaviae Urbanae Constantis* Foro Flaminii olim tributo, ignaros Fulginates redarguit Fabrettus [m], rudibus ejusdem coloniae propinquos, ut a Passarino nostro observatur in annotationibus suis huic inscriptioni adjectis. Et si reperta sit Hispelli, quod sine dubio est, nec Foro Flaminii nec Fulginiae appellatio ista *Urbanae Flaviae Constantis* competere potest. Erat sane Hispellum colonia primum a Julio Caesare deducta, et a fundatoris nomine, *Colonia Julia Hispellum* semper vocabatur. Si vero nomen hoc in *Urbanam Flaviam Constantem* unquam mutaverit, id vel in adula-

[m] Inf. p. 105,

tionem

tionem vel ob beneficium aliquod a Constante Constantini filio acceptum summisse verisimile est; brevique ad antiquum illud Hispelli rediisse, unde & hodiernum *Spello* aut *Hispello* levi admodum mutatione formatur.

Caeterum doctissimus vult Cluverius [n] Hispellum in genere feminino a Juvenale terminari, & pro *Hispulla* legendum esse Hispella, Sat. xii. 11.

Si res ampla domi, similique adfectibus esset
Pinguior Hispulla traheretur taurus, & ipsa
Mole piger, nec finitima nutritus in herba,
Laeta sed ostendens Clitumni pascua.—

Clara, mehercule, & felix conjectura, quam & confirmare videantur pascua illa celeberrima non ita procul ab Hispello remota,

Unde albi, Clitumne, greges, & maxima taurus
Victima, saepe tuo perfusi flumine sacro,

Romanos ad templa Deum duxere triumphos [o];
nisi & omnes libri quotquot sunt uspiam manuscripti & impressi, durissimaque & vix Latina constructio restituisent, imo, inquam, nisi & ipse Juvenalis, cum vetere suo scholiaste, reclamaret; quorum hic, in Satyra sua sexta [p] feminam obesam sub nomine sugillat Hispullae, & ille, eandem hoc loco matronam designari innuit.

Of the other Inscriptions in Passarini's Collection some have been published by Gruter, Fabretti, Rickius and others, but are there given more correctly; others were first copied by him. Of the former is that to Licinia, where Rickius reads the third line *HISPELANAE. CLAVD.* instead of *HISPELLAE. CAVS . . .* that to Pinarius, where Gruter. p. CCCCLI. 6, gives *CX* or *COL*

[n] Ital. Ant. L. II. p. 628.

[o] Virg. Georg. II. 146.

[p] L. 74.

for *cor.* that to *Aequasius* in *Rickius*, p. 61, who in the first and eighth line for *CAIVS.* and *C. LVC.* reads *CALVO.* and in the seventh for *LVD.* reads *IVD.* The unpublished ones, to the number of forty-one, are sepulchral, except two or three and the following large one, in honour of the Emperor Gordian:

IMP. CAESARI
M. ANTONIO
GORDIANO
PIO. FELICI AVG.
PONT. MAX.
TRIB. POT. II.
COS. PROCOS.
P. P.
PVBlice.

One of the sepulchral ones has these lines:

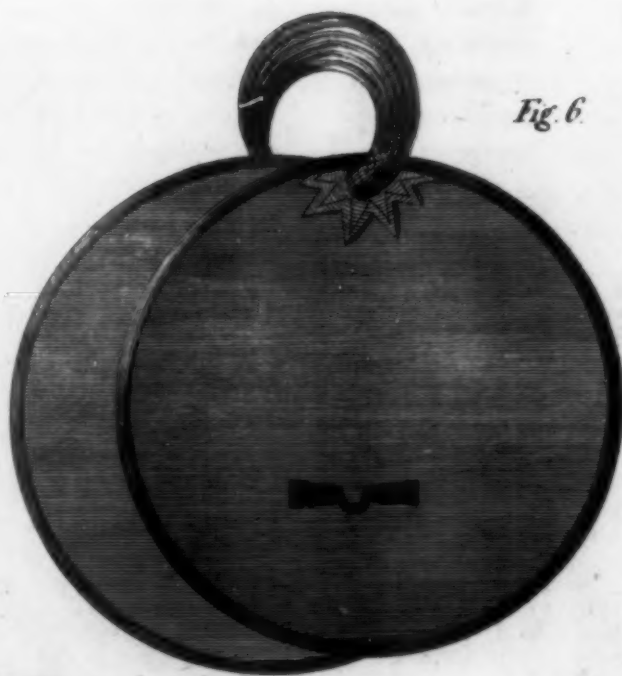
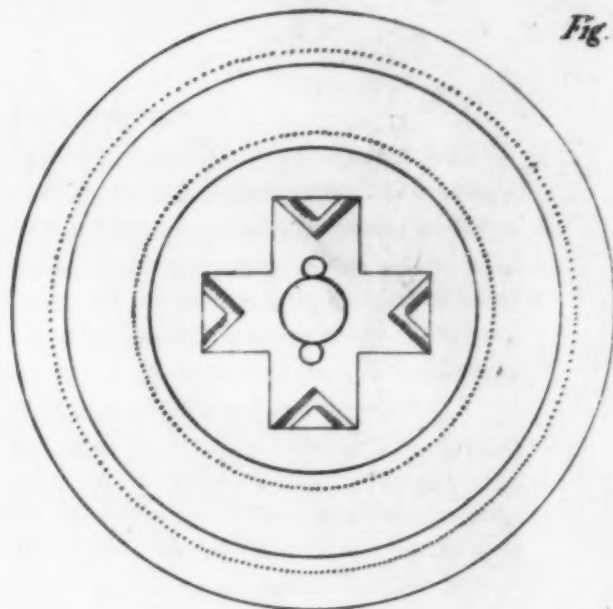
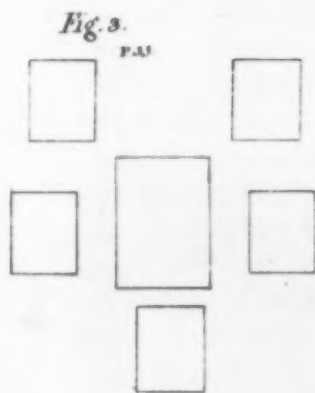
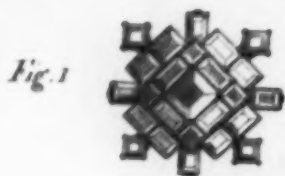
--- VM. DESIERANT. SED. QVASI VIVAT. AMANT.
AETATI VIRIDI. REQUIESCE. VIATOR. IN. HERBA.
[ET.] FVGE. SI. TECVM. CEPERIT. VMBRA. LOQVL

III. *An Account of some Antiquities found in Ireland;*
communicated by the Right Rev. Richard Pococke,
late Lord Bishop of Meath.

IN March, 1748, while some ploughmen were tilling lands upon *Carne*, the estate of *Keedab Geogbagen*, esq; about seven miles west of *Mullingar*, in the county of *Westmeath*, the plough, cutting through a sandy hillock which lay in the middle of the field, turned up a flag stone, about four feet long and three broad. Underneath they discovered a grave, or rather ossuary, to which this stone had served as a cover. The bottom, sides, and ends of the grave were composed each of a single slab. Within were deposited the bones of a human body, but of a size greatly above the common proportion of men.

THERE was something singularly curious in the attire, or ornament, of the head; for it was covered with an integument of clay, as with a cap; the border whereof, neatly wrought like Point, or Brussels lace, extended half way down the forehead. Upon handling, it mouldered into dust, so that no drawing was made of it. Entombed with the bones was an urn of yellow clay. Its contents, if there were any, are not mentioned; it is probable therefore there were none; for the inside of the grave is expressly said to have been free from dirt or dust; and the urn, upon handling, fell to pieces.

BESIDE the urn lay a ring, of no inconsiderable value, nor inelegant form, considering the high antiquity some are desirous to assign it. It consists of twenty-five table diamonds, regularly and well disposed, set in gold. The figures 1 and 2, in the first plate, will give a pretty just idea of it.



THE bones were all white, as if blanched, but there was no sign of fire having passed upon them.

THIS discovery leading to a further search, five other graves of a similar construction, but of smaller dimensions, having only human bones in them, were also found. These were disposed in a regular form, so as nearly to environ the larger sepulchre; two being placed on each side, and one at the feet.

IT happened also, within a short time after, that five other graves, of the smaller sort, were discovered within half a mile of this place, upon the lands of *Adamsdown*; but these, like the former, contained only human bones. From these circumstances it is conjectured, that near this place there had been an action, in which, the Chief of one side, with five of his principal friends, or leaders fell, and five of the other party. The graves of the common men, it may be said, are seldom particularly distinguished on these occasions.—But surely, had the case been as it is here presumed, it is very likely that other evidences usually attending such events, and indicating the cause of them, would have accompanied these bones; such as fragments of arms, and offensive weapons; but none such are said to have been found. And it is also probable, that, had these several persons died in battle, the whole of their bodies, in the martial accoutrements as they fell, and not merely their bones, would have been secured in those stone inclosures, and the ornamental circumstances wholly omitted.

THERE is, however, a manifest designation of honour observable in the size and arrangement of the *Carne* tombs [a]. For the rich and larger sepulchre is occupied by the Chieftain; and this is surrounded and attended by the others, as by his body guards. Two are advanced somewhat in front on each side, but so as to keep the front open; two on the flanks, and one in the rear. None are placed above, at the head of the principal tomb, because none there were of superior, or equal dignity.

YOU will smile, no doubt, at the fond credulity of some, and their extravagant passion for antiquity, who would persuade

[a] See Plate I. Fig. 3.

themselves and others, that this ring belonged to one of their kings; and that this king was *Breafrigh*, monarch of Ireland, who, according to Keating [b], was killed at *Carn Cbluain*, Anno Mundi 3301. It matters little in this case, that *O'Flaharty* [c] sets his death 131 years later; and makes the place of it to be, with a little variation, *Carn-Conluain*. This Author gives the name *Breasus* to this monarch; and Sir James Ware, in his MS. catalogue of the kings of Ireland, before the arrival of St. Patrick, calls him *Breasus*.

Now *Carne*, where the ring and sepulchres were found, lies, according to the present division of the county, within the barony of *Rathconrath*; but the adjoining barony is called *Clunlonan*. The little differences and variations observable in these names might easily be got over, could we reconcile ourselves to the opinion, that this mode of interment was of national usage at the time here spoken of; and that rings of such rare materials and artificial workmanship, and of the size exhibited, were suitable to that age, and to *Breafrigh's* person; for the bones, it must be remembered, were rather gigantic. And yet no better reason is urged for the probability of this opinion, than the coincidence in the name of the place where *Breafrigh* is said to have been killed, with that where the ring and tombs were found.

BUT to enquire a little into the period, where this mode of interment obtained. Dr. Keating, who makes *Carn-Cbluain* the place where *Breafrigh* was slain, tells us, that the custom of burying the dead in graves dug in the earth, did not take place in Ireland, till Anno Mundi 3952; and that *Eocbaid*, surnamed *Aireamb*, who then reigned in Ireland, was the first who introduced it. For before his time, the Milesians and their posterity used to cover their dead, by raising heaps of clay or stones over their bodies; which practice this prince abolished, as not so decent and secure; and from this circumstance the name *Aireamb*, expressive of the new custom, was given him; for *Aireamb* in Irish, signifies a grave.

[b] History of Ireland, p. 146,

[c] P. 248.

THERE was a notable wight, indeed, named *Rosa Failge*, prince of Ireland, eldest son of *Cathoir More*, or Cathoir the Great, who reigned A. D. 122, to whom such a ring might, with some less adventurous risk, and shew of probability, have been ascribed by these partizans for its antiquity; for he was styled the Hero of Rings. But then he was not killed at *Carn-Chluain*; and it is to be feared, moreover, that an abatement of so many hundred years in the account, would detract too much from the value, which the reputation of such an accumulated series, and other circumstances, now give it. But had we no other room for doubt here, it would be thought a sufficient objection, I believe, to say, we had not the knowledge of this species of jewels, so early among us. It is remarkable, that it is not so much as named among the precious stones in jewelry work or rings, among the Swedes, so late as the fifteenth century [d].

BUT these things, however, as they may, the singularity of the discovery deserves some notice.

THE other articles I would lay before you are more frequently met with indeed, but their names and uses are so little known at this day, that were we to count their antiquity from thence, they might be able to boast a very considerable share of it.

ONE of these is a flat piece of gold, of a lunular or crescent-like form. It is ornamented round the borders, and at the extremities, with a kind of chequer work, executed by punching. The plate, though of so extended a depth and size, weighs but one ounce, seventeen penny-weights. Many such have been occasionally found in Ireland; and among these, some are flat and plain; others ornamented as this before you, but crimped, or folded like a fan.

FROM the account given me of one lately discovered, I am inclined to think that my own, and others, I have seen, are imperfect. For, as many of these have the extremities quite broken off, of which there can be no doubt that they are imperfect; and others again terminate in a fine point, as mine does; yet the one

[d] *Berch*, in his account of the Swedish Womens Dress, under the article *Rings*.

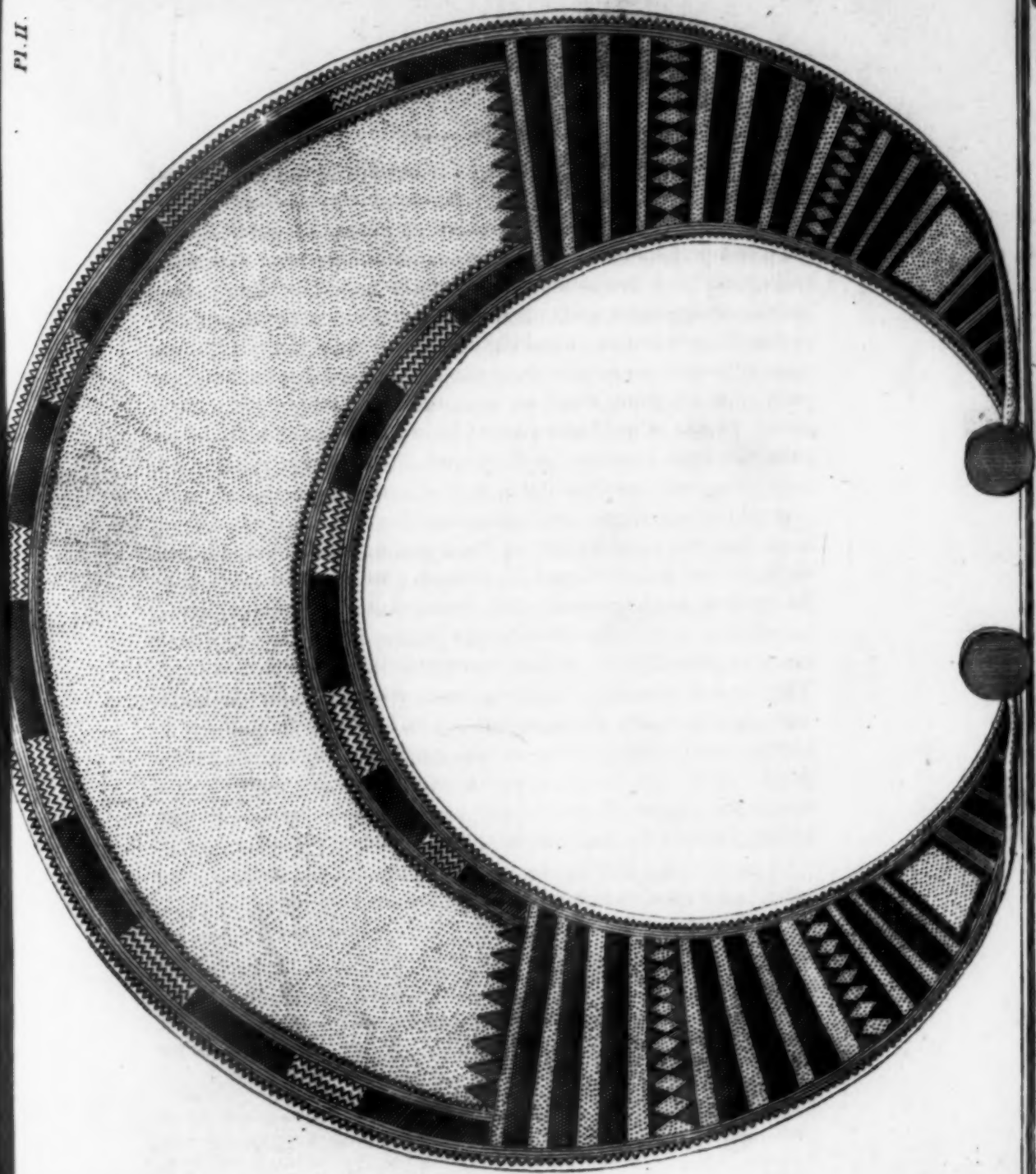
I allude to, which has lately been discovered, has its extremities terminated by two flat circular plates about the size of an half guinea. This weighs but one ounce six penny-weights [e].

I FIND persons much divided in opinion concerning their use, and equally at a loss to assign any certain period for their introduction or discontinuance. Some suppose them to have been used as Nimbi, or Glories, round the heads of saints; but, a little attention to their form will shew their unaptness for such a purpose. Others think them to have been portions of royal diadems; two of which, one placed before, and one behind, composed the Irish crown. Of this opinion was the late Mr. Simon of Dublin, who communicated to you a drawing of one of those plates a few years ago; and this opinion he founded upon a similitude supposed to exist between the projecting rays seen on the obverse of the coins of some Irish princes, such as *Sithric*, *Ethelred*, &c. and those plates when in their folded or plaited state. Some judge them to be the *Asion* or *Afn* (from the Irish *Asian* plates) worn by the Queens of that country instead of a Diadem [f]. The lord chancellor Newport, from whose plate Mr. Simon's drawing was made, thought them to have been a kind of breast plate, worn by order of one of the kings of Ireland, to distinguish the nobles from the common people. The notion of a breast-plate, seems to me to carry in it a greater shew of probability; because the small circular plates, at the extremities of the

[e] See the figure, plate II. This however differs from the drawing in the minute book V. 141, where are strokes to express twenty-two folds.

[f] See Harris's edit. of Ware, p. 65. Mr. Catherwood, a goldsmith in Ireland, shewed the society 1755 a more perfect breast-plate of the above sort, and informed them that the other gold instruments with the cups were very common. Another sent to the society 1747 was found on the lands of Mr. James Connors about four feet deep, in making a ditch near a place called Reythole, in the west part of the coast of Clare. A similar plate seems to have been found in Cornwall, near the circus in Penrith hundred. It weighed 2 oz. 4. dw. 6 gr. was enriched with a narrow border, and finished with an inch and half of the extremities with lace work, but faintly executed, supposed to have been worn by the arch druid. Letter from Mr. Price to Dr. Heath of Harrow, Feb. 6, 1783. A. S. minutes.

Lunula



Lunula lately discovered, are very properly adapted to such an intention; as, by passing loops over these, they become readily and conveniently pendulous from the neck of the wearer; and to these, it is possible, the use of the modern gorget has succeeded. —His Lordship, however, in the above designation of their use, seems to assign a very early period for their introduction, if the practice is referred, as it seems to be hinted by him, to an order of *Muinbeamboin*, Monarch of Ireland, who reigned Anno Mundi 3070. This prince, indeed, is said by Keating to have ordained, that the gentlemen of Ireland should wear a chain about their necks, as a badge of their quality, and to distinguish them from the populace. He also commanded several helmets to be made, with the neck and fore-pieces all of gold; and these, we are told, he designed as a reward for his soldiers, and bestowed them upon the most deserving of his army. His son *Aildergoidgb* is also said to be the first prince who introduced the wearing of gold rings in Ireland, which he bestowed upon persons of merit, that excelled in the knowledge of the arts and sciences, or were any other way peculiarly accomplished. Whether the practice of wearing these Lunulae is deducible from this ordinance, or whether the custom was borrowed from the Druids, Jews, or Romans, I shall not take upon me to determine [g]. It is certain that pendent Lunulae made a part of the rich ornaments of the Jewish women; and *σφαίρα*, or Amulets, of a lunular form, were customarily hung about boys necks by the Romans; they also used suspended Lunulae, as a kind of pectorals on their horses breasts. An ornament of this kind was found near Reculver, in Kent, and is taken notice of by Dr. Harris, in his history of that county (p. 249). Ciacconius, and Petrus Bellorius, have given Icons of those which appear in the basso relievoes on Trajan's pillar. Batteley also, in his *Antiquitates Rutupinae*, p. 129, has

[g] Borlase, Antiq. p. 261. The Crescent was among the more honourable badges of the Druid order; and from the moon, at six days old, they regulated the beginning of their months, years, and ages, every thirtieth year; so that the moon was of constant and especial note among the Britains.

given

given an Amulet of Harpocrates, with a Lunula on his head; and likewise an Ephippium.

THAT the Irish gentry, or officers, may have customarily worn plates of gold on some part of their bodies, as badges of distinction, is no way improbable. For in Camden (Vol. II. p. 1411, 1412. second Edit.) mention is made of two, not many years ago dug up at *Balishannon*, which lies south of *Donegall*, discovered by a method very remarkable; of which he gives the following account. "The lord bishop of Derry happening to be at dinner, there came "in an Irish harper, and sung an old song to his harp. His Lordship, not understanding Irish, was at a loss to know what the "song meant. But the herdsman being called in, they found by "him the substance of it to be this: that in such a place (naming "the very spot) a man of gigantic stature lay buried, and that "over his breast and back were plates of pure gold, &c. The "place was so exactly described, that two persons there present "were tempted to go in quest of the golden prize, which the "harper's song had pointed out to them. After they had dug "for some time, they found two thin plates of gold, exactly of "the form and bigness of the cut, &c. The passage is the more "remarkable, because it comes pretty near the manner of discovering king Arthur's body, by the directions of a British bard. "The two holes in the middle of this seem to be for the more "convenient tying it to the arm, or some part of the body [b]." And Mr. Lethieullier exhibited to the Society a plate of gold, found under ground, in the estate of Sir Piercy Freake, bart. near *Baltimore*, in Ireland, extremely similar [i] to that discovered from the notice of the Irish bard's song. Nor does it seem that the wearing such plates was peculiar to the Irish; for Strahlenberg informs us, that round plates, or instruments of gold, or other metal, were worn by the Tartarian generals on several parts of the body; one on the breast, one on the back, and one on each shoulder. But of this enough.

[b] The original is in the Ashmolean Museum, attested by Charles Hopkins, major John Mould.

[i] Plate I. fig. 5.

ANOTHER piece of antiquity I lay before you, is a bracelet, or armilla, of fine gold [t], found some years since in Ireland. It is of an oval form, composed of three hoops soldered together, with a narrow rim or border, somewhat ornamented, at both openings. One of the sides, supposed to be that usually worn next the body, is bruised and indented in several places, as if it suffered from a skeep worn on the breast, or from the pommel of a sword. It is about one inch and three-quarters high; its longest diameter within, three inches and an half, its shortest two inches and three-quarters, and the swell, or bulge of the hoop, one-quarter of an inch. It weighs three ounces and a half, and twelve grains.

You will observe, among the other articles, a small lunular fibula of gold [l]. This, with others of silver, was found lately in Ireland. It swells pretty much in the middle, and gradually tapers towards the points, which are brought nearly into contact together. The other [m] is a larger species of gold fibula, and of a different kind from those just mentioned; it weighs five ounces fifteen penny-weights. It is supposed to be a peculiar sort, made use of to fasten a cloak, or other loose garment, by passing it through an opening, worked on each side for this purpose. It is composed of two flat circular plates, about two inches and an half diameter. These are connected at one point by a ring, channeled, and resembling a crescent in form. Upon one of the plates is fixed a loop, which serves, when the garment is on, to find the other part of the fibula. It is remarkable, that several detached pieces of gold, of the shape of the ring fixed to the above plates, have occasionally been found in Ireland, and they were generally deemed there to be parts of fibulae.

THE remaining article seems to promise much difficulty in ascertaining its use [n]. Whether it be a species of Fibula, or what else, I am utterly at a loss. Many such, diversified only by a few ornaments, have been found from time to time in different parts of Ireland. Mr. Simon, of Dublin, communicated to you drawings

[t] See plate III. fig. 5.

[l] Plate I. fig. 4.

[m] Plate I. fig. 6.

[n] See plate III. fig. 1.

of several which came to his knowledge; and Mr. Lethicullier, so far back as the year 1731, exhibited one of the exact size and shape of mine, found that year in Scotland, in an urn. This gentleman thinks it extremely doubtful, whether it be Roman, Danish, or Pictish; and as difficult to guess at the use for which it was intended. The gold is thought to be of the finest kind. Mr. Simon, after describing those of which he made drawings, and mentioning the places where several of them were found, and that he could receive no information of their use, concludes with giving it as his opinion that they were used in the religious ceremonies of the Irish Druids or other heathen priests; but not as ornaments. The places where they were found, in grounds that were formerly bogs, and which, before the rain and waters had subsided, were probably vallies, seem to point out that they were used by the Druids or Pagan priests; many of the antient altars, or cromléch stones, that have been discovered in Ireland, being in vallies, near some rivulets, as well as on high grounds. Such is Mr. Simon's opinion. With him major Vallancy concurs, who imagines them pateræ, and has engraved five in his *Collectanea Hibernica* N° XIII. pl. VI.

THE great similitude observable between them shews they served very similar purposes; their chief difference depending upon their size, and the wreathed or plain flexure of their bows; the size adding only to their value, not to their use. The parts A and B (plate III. fig. 1.) are formed into thin cups and the sides very thin; and the part C is solid. There is a small circle within the verge which has a red substance sticking to it like cement. The largest of these (fig. 1.) with the wreathed bow, weighed fifteen ounces; the small one (fig. 2.) [?] found with it, but one ounce four penny-weights. This last, instead

[?] Such an one was shewn from Sir Hans Sloane's collection 1740. Mr. Breckton exhibited Feb. 10, 1774, half such a bow with its cup, weight five ounces and a quarter, found the preceding summer in a field near the Lizard point, where are remains of a very antient building said to have been a chapel.

A

B

Fig 1

C

Fig 2

Figs

Fig 4

Figs

HELENVS. P.

of having its bulb hollow like the others, is covered with a flat oval plate. These two were found in Galway. Others mentioned by him were found on the confines of the counties of Louth and Meath, in digging some reclaimed ground that was formerly a bog. That in my possession (where found, I cannot exactly recollect) agrees in size and shape with fig. 3, and is worth about fifteen pounds sterling; Mr. Lethicullier's, found in an urn in Scotland, was, I suppose, pretty nearly of the same value, they so exactly agree in all respects. They were all of fine gold without alloy.

It may be proper just to mention a piece of gold (plate III. fig. 4.) found not many years since in Scotland, in a moss, about eighteen inches under ground, on the estate of Mr. Irvine, of Cove, near Ecclefechan, in the shire of Dumfries; to see whether its use may be ascertained, and whether it will be judged to have any thing in common with, or relative to, those above-mentioned. On one end is plainly seen the word *HELENVS*, in raised Roman capitals, evidently effected by a stamp; and on the other end, in pricked or dotted characters, the letters *M. B.* It is of pure gold, very soft and pliable. It is in the possession of Mr. John Davison, junior, of Edinburgh, who communicated it to the Society, by Dr. Birch. Several of the same sort, but whether with the same impresses is not mentioned, have been occasionally found in Scotland; but to what use they served is yet unknown.

Dr. Pococke exhibited 1755 a drawing of a gold bracelet found about thirty years before, in Waterford county, near Whiteella, the seat of William Christmas, Esq. under a heap of stones near Lisnekil church. On the top of this heap, which was removed to be employed in building, was a stone set upright, and under it a cavity in which was the bracelet. It is very thin, two inches five-eighths long, three inches diameter, and somewhat less in the middle than at the end, and near it stood a small urn about six inches high and four broad at the mouth, containing bones and ashes.

IV. *Dissertation on an ancient Cornelian. By the Rev.
Mr. Hodgson.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Dec. 7, 1758.



THIS figure is engraved from an ancient seal in the possession of John Lawson, esq. purchased abroad by his brother the late Dr. Isaac Lawson, who shewed it to the Society 1739, and had received from a French Antiquary an attempt to explain it, which I beg leave to produce in the following translation.

“ MR. LAWSON’s fine Cornelian, says this gentleman, deserves
“ undoubtedly to be well examined. It represents a kind of triumphal
“ car drawn by four horses, a Genius or Victory holding the
“ reins, with these words round it from right to left, MARTA
“ MARIC.

“ It cannot be doubted, but this car is intended to point out
“ the victories of Marius. It is more difficult to shew whether
“ it is a triumph or not, and who is this Marta here spoken of.

“ THE

“THE first question is not, perhaps, so problematical as might be imagined; and I think one might venture to assert, that it is not a triumph which is here intended. This will be demonstrated by the following reflections.

“IN the first place, the number of triumphs is not very considerable, as appears by the catalogue of them in the *Fasti Capitolini*; whereas if we were to take for triumphs all those monuments which have the like attitude of horses at full speed, as we see on innumerable consular medals, the number of them would be extremely great. There is reason therefore to believe, that the greatest part of the cars drawn by two or four horses abreast, which appear at full speed, and which occur on this kind of medals, represent only races, or public games given by the *Ediles*.

“IN the second place, the attitude alone of the horses on our *Cornelian* proves the same thing. The four horses have each their two fore feet aloft in the air, which we do not see on the medals representing triumphs. *Graevius's* edition of *Florus* has many sorts of them, but all different from the impression on this *Cornelian*. The triumph of *Julius Caesar* after his victory over *Pharnaces*, the quickest of all the victories he ever obtained, is there well represented by a car, whose four horses have their right feet lifted up, in order probably to shew the celerity of his victory, which he had so well described to the senate by the three words, *veni, vidi, vici*: but the horses do not appear at full speed as they do here, that being hardly suitable to the solemnity of such a show.

“THE same attitude of *Caesar's* horses appears likewise on a medal of *Trajan*, as also on one of *Scipio Africanus*, for the same reasons; but still the horses are at full speed, as on this *Cornelian*, which proves that it does not represent a triumph.

“WE see then that this can be nothing but a victory obtained in races or public games.

“ THERE are numbers of the same sort. Such is that which
 “ was struck by Faustus Sylla, in honour of his father the Dicta-
 “ tor; such is also that of Caius Appius Pulcher, both of which
 “ have cars with two horses at full speed; and that of Scipio Asi-
 “ aticus, which hath four horses in the same attitude, but which
 “ signify only victories, and not triumphs.

“ WITH regard to the inscription, I cannot comprehend how an
 “ Italian Antiquary could venture to tell Mr. Lawson, that *Marta*
 “ might be the name of the forcerefs or pretended prophetess, spoken
 “ of by authors, as foretelling victory to Marius. This conjecture
 “ hath not the least foundation, and may be easily refuted. The
 “ word *Martba* taken for the proper name of a woman is unusual
 “ in the Latin tongue, being of Hebrew or Syriac extraction,
 “ and written with an *b*. Besides, we do not here see any woman
 “ discoursing with Marius, which would not have been omitted,
 “ and would have served as a key to the enigma. This explication
 “ then is a mere illusion, and does little honour to those gen-
 “ tlemen who shew antiquities to strangers in Italy. The fol-
 “ lowing explication appears to me more probable.

“ IT is certain that *Marta* was the name of a town, situated
 “ upon the Vulsinian lake, now called Lago de Bolsena, in Tus-
 “ cany. It was also the name of a river proceeding from the same
 “ lake, which the ancients likewise called *Larta*, from an old
 “ Celtic word. It is of no consequence to know whether the
 “ town took its name from the river, or the river from the town.
 “ However that be, we must here understand the town, which
 “ probably celebrated games in memory of Marius's victories, and
 “ to the honour of this great commander. We have nothing to
 “ do then but to fill up the sense thus: *The City Marta dedicates*
 “ *this to Marius*. There are many instances of towns which used
 “ the same style in the monuments which they consecrated to
 “ the memory of great men.”

THUS

Thus far the French antiquary, whose observations, however ingenious, cannot, I think, be admitted as entirely satisfactory.

It is well known that the earliest essays of the Roman mint were usually marked with a double-faced Janus, and the prow of a ship. The reason of this device we need not here examine. It is sufficient to observe, that it continued (with some few exceptions) till the 485th year of the city; when, a new metal being introduced, new devices were also invented. For this purpose it was natural to pitch upon something which was connected with their affairs; and, as the Circus engaged much of their attention, they looked no farther for the impression of their money. Hence the Bigae and Quadrigae, which from this period appear so frequently on the consular coins.

THESE representations then were at first purely ornamental, as may be farther confirmed from their being all along employed by such families as had nothing particular to celebrate. Afterwards they were adapted to the recording of victories and triumphs; probably (amongst other reasons) because the exhibition of games was an usual circumstance on these glorious occasions, especially the latter.

THOUGH the Bigae and Quadrigae were thus generally received upon the Roman money, yet it cannot be imagined that they would all be represented in the same attitude. Different workmen would have different manners; and we may accordingly observe the horses proceeding sometimes with a slow, at others with a rapid motion. Nay there are different degrees of slowness and rapidity, but without any apparent distinction of design, as the French account supposes. The triumphs, at least, are indifferently marked with either. Thus the triumph of Q. Metellus over the Macedonians is represented by the Quadrigae marching slowly [a], and that of Aemilius Paulus over the same Macedonians by the Quadrigae in a rapid attitude [b].

[a] Morel. Fam. Caecilia, Tab. I. N° VI.

[b] Morel. Fam. Acilia, Tab. I. N° IV.

FROM hence it appears that the representations of Bigae and Quadrigae at full speed upon the Roman coins, and consequently that on our Cornelian, (it having been a common practice with the other artists to copy the designs of the mint) may properly enough be referred to a triumph. And, in the present case, as history mentions no less than three triumphs of Marius, it is but natural to assign it to one of those, rather than to a less considerable victory. But a full determination of this point must depend upon the meaning of the inscription, which it is not very easy to ascertain.

THE French critic refers it to a town called Marta in Tuscany, which he supposes to have exhibited games in honour of Marius. Baudrand indeed, in his *Lexicon Geographicum*, mentions from Antoninus a place of the name of *Marta*; which, he says, is still called *La Marta*. But there is great room to believe, that this was no more than an inconsiderable village, and therefore unlikely to have enjoyed the privilege of exhibiting public games. Baudrand himself calls it *oppidulum*; and none of the ancient geographers, that I have had an opportunity to consult (such as Strabo, Ptolomy, Dionysius Periegetes, Pomponius Mela, &c.) take the least notice of it. However, allowing it more distinction than it seems really to have had, it will still be a question, what particular attachment induced it to pay this honour to Marius. Till something more satisfactory, therefore, can be produced upon this head, I should rather be inclined to adhere to the opinion, which our French Antiquary affects to treat so lightly, namely, that it may be ascribed to the famous Martha, whom Marius, according to Plutarch, retained in his service under the character of a Prophetess. Such a person might compliment her Patron with a ring, or seal, adorned with this flattering type, either by way of anticipation, or upon his actually obtaining the honour of a triumph. This supposition is favoured by the size of the monument, which is much more suitable

to

to a private than a public present. And if the figure in the car, instead of a Genius or Victory, be considered as a Cupid, which it very much resembles, this will be an additional reason why it should be adjudged to personal regard. The name being written Marta will be no objection in this respect, as Martha (which was the real name of this stranger) might easily undergo that change in the mouth of a Roman, if it is not rather a mistake of the engraver. As to her effigy not appearing upon the stone, that was entirely needless, her name being sufficient.

It is said there is in the hands of Mr. Drake, of York, an ancient ring inscribed POMPEIA NERONI [*]. This is the very style of our Cornelian, and may serve to confirm what has hitherto been offered.

AFTER all, these conjectures are submitted with great deference to those gentlemen, who have more penetration in those things of this kind.

* * The late Mr. Bowman in a paper read 1759, agreed with Mr. Hodgson in his explanations of this gem. He observes that the witch *Martha* remains, and is made the sister of Lazarus at Terracon. Her festival July 29 he thinks the true time of Marius' victory. The popish calendar, he adds, is a comment on Ovid's Fasti, the lost books of which were supplied from thence by a certain monk. The *lapis manalis* in the temple of Mars produced St. *Martial* and his rain-dropping staff in the Cevennes, carried in procession for rain, like that stone or the image of St. Genevieve at Paris.

JOHN HODGSON.

[*] It is engraved in the Plate of antiquities in his Eboracum.

V. *An Account of a remarkable Monument, in Penrith Church Yard, Cumberland. By Dr. Lyttelton, then Dean of Exeter.*

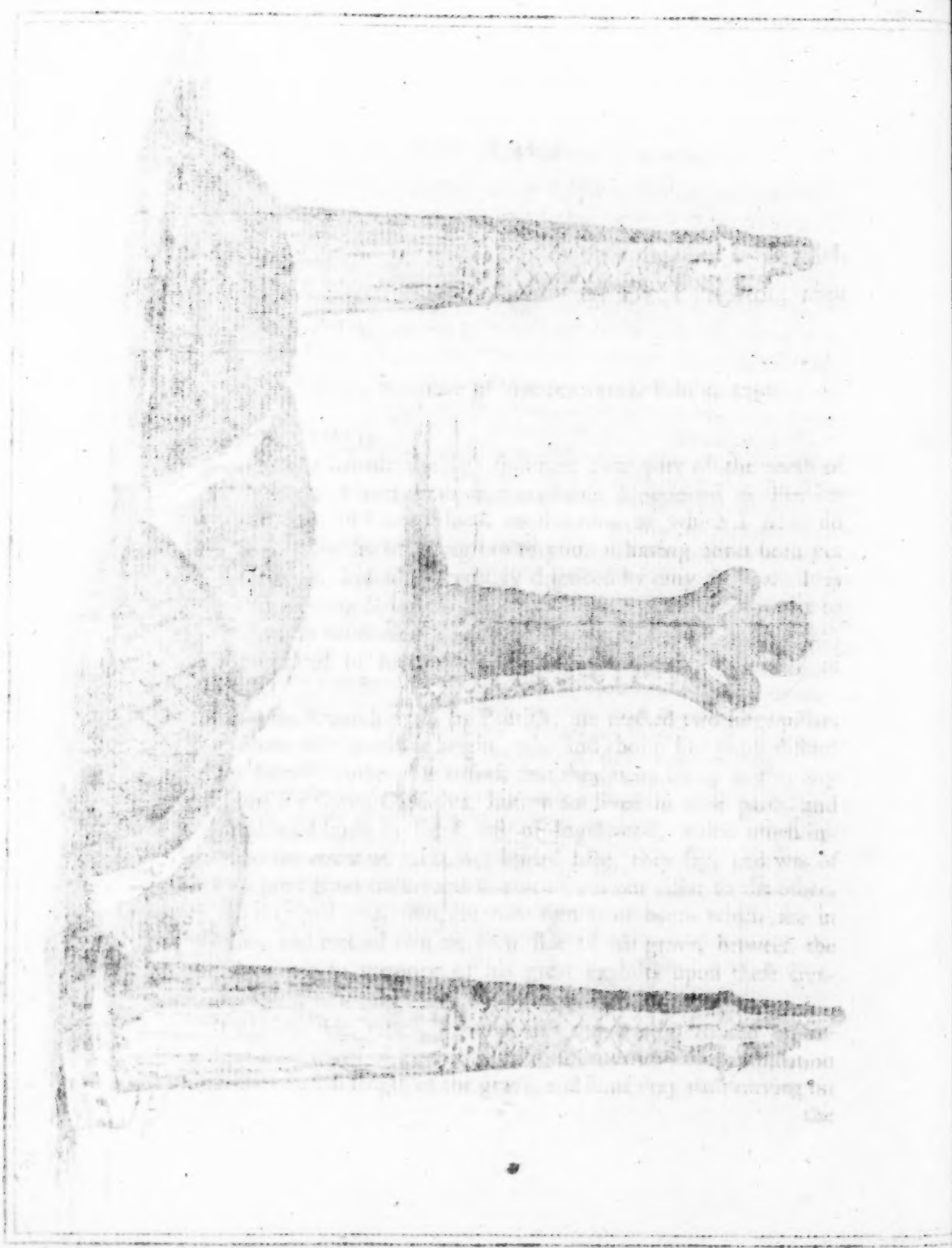
Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Feb. 5, 1756.

GENTLEMEN,

IN a tour I made the last summer, over part of the north of England, I met with a remarkable Monument in Penrith Church-yard, in Cumberland, an elevation of which I now do myself the pleasure of laying before you, it having never been yet engraved, or, indeed, accurately described by any author. It is called the *Giants Grave*; and we have the following account of it in Bishop Gibson's edition of the *Britannia* (Vol. II. p. 1020) communicated to him (as I was informed) by Dr. Todd, of Carlisle.

“ IN the Church-yard, at Penrith, are erected two large pillars
“ of about four yards in height each, and about five yards distant
“ one from the other. It is said, that they were set up in memory
“ of one Sir Owen Caesarius, knt. who lived in these parts, and
“ killed wild boars in the forest of Ingelwood, which much in-
“ fested the country. He was buried here, they say, and was of
“ such prodigious stature, as to reach from one pillar to the other;
“ and they tell you, that the rude figures of boars which are in
“ stone, and erected two on each side of his grave, between the
“ pillars, are in memory of his great exploits upon these crea-
“ tures.”

THIS idle tale, which I found still universally credited by the vulgar inhabitants of Penrith, seems to have no other foundation than the unusual length of the grave, and some very rude carving on the



the front of those stones, which in the foregoing account are described as figures of boars, and erected two on each side the grave; whereas they are circular segments of stone about four feet in height, and six in length, enclosing a narrower space of ground than is usually taken up by a common grave. So far therefore are these stones from representing the figure of a boar, that it requires a pretty strong imagination to discover any regular figure, in the rude sculpture which remains upon them [a].

In

[a] Mr. Pennant, at the end of his tour in Scotland, has published an account of these pillars, with two views of them; one similar to this, the other different from the present appearance of the columns, which I visited last September. The oldest of Mr. Pennant's drawings makes their shafts square, with transverse pieces, forming a perfect cross, and a human head carved on the inside, just below the center of the cross. Not the least traces of the head remain at present, and scarce any of the transverses: but though these may have been destroyed by time, it is not conceivable, that any man since that time, as Mr. Pennant observes, would have taken the pains to chip these pillars from a round shape, to one half round, half square. The greatest difficulty seems to be about the boars, said to be carved on the four semicircular stones below. From Dr. Todd's description one would suppose he meant that these stones were cut in the form of boars, instead of being charged with reliefs of those animals. His words, as cited by Mr. Pennant from his MS. collections, are "The space between the pillars is surrounded with the *rude figures of four boars, or wild hogs.*" Bishop Lyttelton says, "it requires a strong imagination to discover any regular figure in the rude sculptures on them." Some rude figures, not unlike those on the Danish obelisks in Scotland, presented themselves to my imagination, on the outer face of the north west stone particularly two figures like men at bottom. The inner face of all these four stones are hatched with a chisel, as is common in hewn stones. They have lost much of the neatness given them in this plate, and the south-western stone is almost broken away. They all originally measured two feet in height, but were of different lengths.

Dr. Todd supposes these pillars were intended to place corpses on, at the north or *Death's door* of the church, while prayers were offered for their souls. But the height of these pillars is against this supposition, even if we were sure of this ceremony or custom. The name of *grave* given to this monument by uniform tradition, plainly assigns its intention, though it may not be easy to trace the person buried under it. The distance of the stones only proves him to have been a

IN the same church-yard, at about thirteen yards distance from this monument, is a single pillar, called *the Giants Thumb*, which Dr. Todd does not even mention in the above description, but it is represented in the drawing now before you. What relation or connection this pillar has with the others, called the Giants Grave, I will not pretend to determine; but from the shape of the upper part, I cannot think it to be the *epistyle of an ancient cross* as has been conjectured by some learned persons in that neighbourhood [b]. Whatever therefore this pillar may be, the Giants Grave is undoubtedly a sepulchral monument; but whether British, Roman, Saxon, or Danish, is the question.

THAT it is much too rude to be a work of the Romans is evident; and with regard to the Saxons, I know of no monument, of this kind remaining in England, which was ever attributed to those people. It must then be either British or Danish. Now the Britains, it is well known, maintained their ground in these parts, for a considerable time after the Saxons were in possession of the rest of England, and gave British names both to this county, and the place where this monument stands. The circular entrenchment, called *Arthur's round Table* [c], about half a mile south

person of eminence or distinction, as barrows are well known to exceed the proportions of the body deposited under them. Perhaps this grave might contain several bodies, and be a memorial of some battle, lost in the darkness of history. R. GOUGH.

[b] The *Giants Thumb*, a single stone, at the north west end of the church-yard, has nothing to do with the other monument, but is plainly an ancient cross, whose base is sunk into the earth. It is six feet high, 14 inches broad at bottom, contracting to ten inches upwards, and the circle of the cross 18 inches in diameter. A cross of one stone seven feet high, somewhat like it, stands on steps in Longtown church yard, in this county. Penrith church has, within these few years, been intirely rebuilt of brick, except the tower, which is of stone. The Giants Grave, being very near the church, may have been damaged at this time by the workmen. R. G.

[c] This earthwork is 150 feet diameter, with two entrances on the north and south. It has suffered a little by being used as a cockpit; and the other earthwork, which is contiguous to it on the north, is almost defaced by buildings. R. G.

of Penrith (described in Gibson's edition of the Britannia, p. 998.) and a large stone circle with a barrow in the center [d], about the like distance north of Penrith, on the Fell above the town, mentioned by none of our writers; likewise the Druid temple at Little Salkeld near Penrith, called *Long Meg and her Daughters* are all, or at least the two last, undoubted remains of the Britains here; but if our monument be British, it is of much later date, than either the stone circle, or Druid temple, being probably erected to the memory of some British prince, or chief, after Christianity was established among them: and this I infer, from its being situated in the church-yard, and from the rude representation of a cross, which appears towards the summit of one of the pillars. Its being denominated the *Giants Grave*, is perhaps a circumstance which strengthens the opinion of the monument being British; for our best writers on antiquity have observed, that, both in England and Ireland, the vulgar ascribe every stupendous and very ancient work of their British ancestors to Giants; thus Stonehenge is called *Cborea Gigantum*, or the *Giants dance*, by the old Monkish writers. The vast fortification, called *Pen-y-Gair*, at Llanderfell in Merionethshire, is said by the neighbouring inhabitants to have been made by Giants; and the like fabulous tradition occurs in many other places. But after all, this monument may perhaps be Danish, as the late learned Bishop Nicholson has proved that to be in Beaucastle church-yard in this county [e], as is the stone cross in Eyam church-yard in the county of Derby, which I formerly gave an account of to this learned Society. Dr. Plot, in his Natural History of Staffordshire (Plate xxxiii.) has given an engraving of a remarkable sepulchral monument of this kind at Checkley, in that county,

[d] This barrow is called *Ormstead-hill*, and surrounded by a circle of short stones. R. G.

[e] Gibson's edition of the Britannia, p. 1029.

consisting of three upright pillars, about four feet high (if I mistake not), two of which have a good deal of rude sculpture upon them, as the third probably had; but I was informed several years since by an ancient inhabitant of the place, that the present plain pillar was placed there in the room of one of the old ones, thrown down and broke by accident. The Doctor conjectures, that this monument was erected by the Danes, from its similitude to that at Beaucastle in Cumberland before mentioned; and to many of the like sort described by Olaus Wormius, in his fifth and sixth book of the *Monumenta Danica*. But I must observe, that the carving on the pillars, at Cheekley and Beaucastle, though rude enough, yet is much less so than the monument under consideration.

If the castle of Penrith was repaired out of the ruins of *Mayburg* (or *Mayborough*) a neighbouring Danish temple, as bishop Gibson asserts to be, though Camden styles it a Roman fort, [f] it is the more likely that other Danish antiquities should be found at Penrith; but as Dr. Gibson assigns no reason for supposing Maybury to be Danish rather than Roman, much stress cannot be laid upon this circumstance.

In opening a gravel pit lately on the side of a hill, in the parish of Stanwix, just without the suburbs of Carlisle, a stratum of bones were discovered, at about a yard below the surface, lying about a foot thick in most parts, and stretching the whole length of the pit, which I apprehend to be near twenty feet. I examined the spot, and found divers fragments of Roman pottery

[f] *Maburgh* is a large circular area, enclosed with a bank of flints. In its center stood three or four large, irregular shaped single stones, of which only one remains at present. If bishop Nicholson had not corrected Camden, in his account that Penrith castle was repaired out of the ruins of this place, which exactly resembles the Druidical places of worship, a bare view of the castle would do it; Penrith castle being intirely built of red hewn stone. R. G.

ware

in Penrith Church-Yard, Cumberland.

53

ware [g] intermixed with the bones. They are, I think, the bones of horses, and might perhaps have been buried after an engagement between the Romans and Picts; but it is not so easy to account for the fragments of paterae, &c. which are found in great numbers intermixed with them.

N. B. The Picts wall ran within less than half a mile of the spot where these bones were found.

I am, GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient,

Humble servant,

Dec. 18, 1755.

C. LYTTTELTON.

[g] Some elegant specimens of which, with some of the bones, were exhibited.

VI. *An Account of some Antiquities discovered, on digging into a large Roman Barrow, at Ellenborough, in Cumberland, 1763, by the Reverend Mr. Head, Prebendary of Carlisle.*

THAT judicious Antiquary Mr. Horsely [a] says, there is no one Roman station in Britain, where, he believes, so great a number of inscriptions have been discovered, as at Ellenborough, in Cumberland, and most of the original inscribed stones were yet preserved at Ellenborough-hall (now called Nether-hall) the seat of Humphry Senhouse, esq; proprietor of the ground where the station was, and lineal descendant from John Senhouse, esq; praised by Mr. Camden, for his great civility to Sir Robert Cotton and himself when they visited these parts; also for his excellent skill in antiquities, and for the care he took in preserving such valuable literary curiosities.

ACCURATE copies of these inscriptions have been published by Camden, Gordon, and Horsely, who differ from one another, in ascertaining the old name of this station. The first supposes it to have been *Volantium*, the second *Olenacum*, the last *Virofedum*. But how much soever they disagree in this point, they unanimously concur in assigning the following cohorts to have been, at different times, in garrison here, viz. Cohors prima Hispanorum; Cohors prima Dalmatarum; and Cohors prima Baetastorum; the truth of which is confirmed by different inscriptions found on the spot. But of the several authors who have described this station, all,

[a] Brit. Rom. p. 279.

except Mr. Gordon, seem to have overlooked a remarkable tumulus which occurs here, and he only cursorily mentions it, telling us it is composed of stone and earth; which he certainly speaks from conjecture, and not ocular proof, as I shall presently make appear.

THIS tumulus is situated about sixty three paces south west from the agger, the camp itself being formed on the edge of a very high bank, which overhangs the sea; and from whence over Solway Frith, the extended coast of Scotland is full in view, and the hills discernible in the Isle of Man. The circumference of this mount, at its verge, is not less than 250 feet; its altitude from the verge to the summit, 42 feet; it is nearly equal on all its sides, except some inequalities made by the plough, or where the ground, on which the tumulus was raised, naturally declines; its perpendicular altitude from the surface of the ground to the summit of the tumulus, is 14 feet.

THE neighbouring inhabitants have an old tradition, that here was the sepulcher of a king, and hence it is frequently called at this day, *the king's burying place*. Mr. Senhouse some time ago caused it to be dug into, beginning at the verge on the north-west side, and making an aperture ten feet wide, directly forward to the center. On the first opening, there appeared a stratum of soft earth or clay, about half an inch thick, which, the farther the tumulus was cut into, was found to rise just as that did, and lay parallel to its surface, as a lesser semicircle, or half sphere, included within a greater. Just under the summit or apex of the tumulus, this stratum lies near eight feet, and there is much the same distance between the surface and it, and likewise from the verge to where it dips on the original ground. This stratum, though soft and mouldering in its bed, when removed from thence, and exposed a very short time to the air, becomes as hard as clay burnt in a furnace, especially the lower side of the stratum, in which there.

there is a thin vein of the colour of iron ore, which soon grows as hard and ponderous as any petrified substance. The whole is ramified, in some parts into two, in others into three branches, but the ramifications fall into one, before they reach the bottom.

BELOW this stratum, at the depth of near six feet, a stiff but unctuous blue clay appeared, emitting a strong savour, intermixed with several fern roots, but scarce a single stone to be found; so that Mr. Gordon spoke wholly by guess, when he asserted this tumulus was composed of stones and earth, as I before observed. This blue clay was undoubtedly brought from the sea side just below the tumulus, the soil there affording great plenty.

WHEN the workmen were got near the center of the tumulus, the blue clay was found not to extend quite to the bottom, for three or four strata of clods were placed there; many of which were laid with the grassy sides together, and when separated (which was easily done) retained very fresh the moss, which seems to have covered them at the time they were first cut from the surface of the ground, and laid here. Underneath these clods were discovered the pole and shank bones of an ox, but neither urns, burnt bones or coins.

FOR what purpose this tumulus was raised, and how the stratum of soft mouldering earth, above described, was laid within it, I cannot account, and therefore leave to others better skilled in these matters.

ERASMUS HEAD.

September, 1743.

Common



THE above description of Ellenborough mount was communicated to commissioner Gale; who being desirous that a farther trial should be made by digging lower, Mr. Senhouse accordingly set about it; and when the clods above described were removed, the surface of the ground beneath them seemed to be covered with mossy grass, and fern roots not at all decayed, and of the same nature with the ground adjacent to the mount; nor was there the least appearance, that the ground below had ever been dug into; however, to satisfy Mr. Gale, the ground was opened several feet in depth, as well as in breadth, but nothing remarkable occurred, nor the least sign that *that* part of the ground had ever been disturbed before.

MR. HEAD forgot to take notice, that there was an appearance of wood ashes found near where the bones lay.

VII. *Account of some Roman Monuments found in
Cumberland, 1766.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, November 13, 1766.

MR. Senhouse, digging in the Roman station, on his estate here, 1766, made some very curious discoveries, which he communicated to the late bishop of Carlisle, the same year.

THE workmen opened, for the second time, a vault, supposed to be within the length of the praetorium, twelve feet in length, ten feet and a half in breadth. The height of the side walls, as they now remain, three feet and a half. The steps into it much worn by use. The stone floor was moved about fourscore years ago, when the vault was opened and filled up again. At the time of writing, this vault happened to be filled with water [a].

A THIN piece of beaten gold was found in the clay, at the bottom of the vault. A piece, rather more than a third part of this gold, was transmitted to the bishop.

A BRASS ring, not unlike our curtain rings. Diameter one inch and a half.

THE root of a stag's horn, with a small portion of the skull. The beam and the brow antler sawed off.

[a] It is highly probable this vault was a temple of the Deae Matres, who appear to be here represented in niches, as they have been found in other parts of Britain. See Horsley's Northumb. XLVIII and L. and p. 224. It may have been one of those very *Cancelli*, which the ancient capitularies inform us the Gauls used to make for those deities, and as such, bears a near resemblance to the caves and grottoes, in which the nymphs and rural deities were originally worshiped. R. G.

A STONE

A **STONE** with three naked female figures, of very rude sculpture, standing in three separate niches. The height of the figures about twelve inches.

A **SMALL** fragment of a stone, with some few letters upon it.

ANOTHER fragment of a stone, with a wheel of six spokes upon it. The diameter of the wheel six inches.

HALF a Roman millstone. Diameter twenty-one inches. Thickness at the center three inches.

FOUNDATIONS of walls; fragments of pavement; mouldings of stone; pieces of brick; many broken pots and flates; coals and cinders. The flates had holes in them, as the modern ones, and pieces of iron nails were remaining in some of the holes.

VIII. *A Dissertation on the Gule of August, as mentioned in our Statute Laws.* By John Pettingal, D. D.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Feb. 26, 1761.

IT is an observation of Plato in Cratilo, *ὅς αὖ τὰ ὀνομαζόμενα εἰδὼν, εἰσεῖται καὶ τὰ πραγμαζόμενα*, "*That the knowledge of the etymology of words, leads to the knowledge of things.*" In this view I propose to enquire into the origin of the expression of the *Gule of August*, which is to be met with in our statutes and elsewhere.

IN the 13 Edw. I. cap. 30, it is provided, "that Justices shall take affize and attaints but thrice in the year at the most, that is to say, first between the Quinzieme of St. John the Baptist, and the *Gule of August*; the second between the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Crofs, and the *utas* of St. Michael [a]; and the third between the Feast of the Epiphany, and the Purification of the Blessed Mary."

AND in the 31 Edw. III. cap. 15, "A Sheriff shall not hold his turn after the *Gule of August*, when every man almost is occupied about cutting and carrying his corn, whereby the people perceiveth themselves much grieved and disquieted." In the French original it is *la Gule Augst*. Spelman likewise quotes this expression from the rental of the manor of Wy [b].

[a] *Utas*, i. e. *buitas*, or the eighth day after Michaelmas, from the French *buit* eight, in the same manner as the Quinzieme of St. John abovementioned stands for the fifteenth day after St. John, from *quinze* fifteen, both which stand for a week or a fortnight, in the common dialect.

[b] Vide Glossary in voc.

THE *Gule of August* signifies the first day of August, on which the festival of St. Peter ad vincula was observed by the Romish church. This was a great day with them; and in honour of their Patron Saint, it was made here in England the day of payment of that ecclesiastical imposition of a penny on each house, called *Peter-pence*.—By an ordinance of Edward the Elder, the *Denarius*, or *Peter's Penny*, *debet colligi ad festivitatem Sancti Petri quae dicitur ad vincula*;—and by another of Edgar, *Denarius in domos singulas impositus ante festum Petri redditor*.

WHAT is called here the *festivitas Sancti Petri* and *dies festus Petri*, in the idiom of this country was called the *Gule of August*, or St. Peter's day; but as this day in the Romish Calendar was abused to superstition, as we shall see hereafter, the compilers of our liturgy at the Reformation changed the day of St. Peter from the first of August to the 29th of June.

WE have thus far seen that the *Gule of August* signified the festival of St. Peter ad vincula, observed by the church of Rome in honour of their Patron Saint, on the first day of August. The next step is to enquire how it came to be called the *Gule*, or *Gyle of August*.

THIS word, although it stands in our laws, and as such has been taken notice of by most of our Glossary and Law Dictionary Writers, is yet left unexplained; which is the reason, that I now offer, with great deference, to the judgement of this learned Society, a conjecture which it is hoped may appear to carry in it something more than fancy and imagination.

SIR HENRY SPELMAN, in his Glossary, under the words *Gula Augusti*, gives us the account of Durandus, why that festival was so called. He says, that the daughter of a certain tribune, named Quirinus, being ill of a cancer in her *throat*, was ordered by Alexander, (the sixth Bishop of Rome in succession after Peter)

.to

to kiss the chains with which St. Peter had been bound by Nero; whereupon she was immediately cured of her disease. In memory of this cure, the said Pope Alexander, who is supposed to have lived in the time of Adrian, instituted this festival in honour of St. Peter's chains, *S^ci Petri ad vincula*, and called it *Gula Augusti*, from the *Gula*, or *Throat*, of the maiden that was healed. A lucky circumstance this, that *Gule*, and *Gula*, a throat, bore such resemblance in sound to each other.

HENCE we may see how ready the Popish miracle-mongers were to catch at any slight pretence to authorize a miracle, as in the ridiculous case before us; from whence we may likewise observe the infamous arts made use of by the Romish ecclesiastics, to impose upon the world, and rob men first of their understanding, and then of their money. However, Spelman observes, that Belethus, who wrote 400 years before his time professedly of this festival, takes no notice of this legend. But it is evident that this simple story was formed upon the similitude of the word *Gule* to *Gula* the throat, so as at once to serve for the honour of the miracle, and the etymology of the word *Gule*. But it is to be observed, that the learned Spelman offers no opinion of his own; and Du Fresne, and Jacob, in his Law Dictionary, only follow what is quoted out of Durandus. The silence of these and other able Antiquaries on this article might deter others from attempting any thing farther; but perhaps we may have resources which they were unacquainted with, and lights in this enquiry which they did not attend to.

It is very reasonable to suppose, and indeed is admitted (on occasion of the etymology of other words) by Camden, Spelman, and other learned men, that a considerable part of the present language of Britain, is to be derived from that *old one*, which was used by the inhabitants of this country, in common with Gaul, Germany, Spain, Illyricum, and most other nations of Europe, before

before they were over-run by the Romans. From this ancient language, call it British, Saxon, or Celtic, for they were nearly the same, as dialects only one of the other, from this antient language we may fetch our *Gule of August*.

It appears by the British or Welsh tongue in use at this day, that a holy-day is called by the Welsh *Wyl*, or, to strengthen the sound, *Gwyl*; thus in the rubrick of the Welsh liturgy every *Saint's Day* is the *Wyl* or *Gwyl* of such a saint; and in common conversation, the day of St. John, is called *Gwyl Ievan*; and of St. Andrew, *Gwyl Andreas*, and the first of August, *Gwyl Awst*. Where then can we look so properly for our Gule of August, as from the Celtic or British, *dydd Gwyl Awst*, which signifies among them, the *first of August*? From hence perhaps we may find the reason, why the great fair or festival at Preston, in Lancashire, which is held at Michaelmas for a week or longer, was called the *Gule*, or, as some corruptly pronounce it, the *Gild*, of Preston; which probably may be no more, than the *Gule* or festival of St. *Michael*, when a great fair and festivity is kept there.

It is from hence likewise we may explain, why in Scotland they call the festival of Christmas, *the Yule*, i. e. the *Wyl* or festival of the nativity, and in the same phrase, the Christmas Holydays are called in Wales *wyliau* or *gwyliu* hadolig; the feast of Christmas, where *wilau* or *gwilau* is the plural of *wyl*, or *gwyl*. And here we may make a remark, that in the Old English or British language, the *Y*, *W*, and *G*, were used interchangeably for each other, as in this instance before us of *Yule*, *Wyl*, and *Gwyl*; all three being but one and the same word, signifying the same thing, though differently written.

THERE is a remarkable instance of this kind to be met with in the statute, commonly called the statute of Rutland, 10 Ed. I. as it stands in the statute book: where the teste runs thus,—In witness of which, &c. *Yeven* at Rutland, 24 May, 10th year of our reign. *Yeven* for *given*.

WE may take notice, as we pass, that the place where this statute is supposed to be made is erroneously called Rutland; whereas the true name of the place was Rhudlan, a castle on the Flintshire side of the river Clwyd, where Edward the First kept his court, after the defeat of Lewellyn, Prince of Wales, and his brother David. Another instance of the like kind is to be met with in the rolls of parliament, 3 Henry VI, n. 12, cited in the preface to the *Jus Anglorum ab antiquo*; where the question related to the precedency granted to the Earl of Warwick, in prejudice to the Duke of Norfolk, who claimed the same seat in parliament from Roger Bigod. By the command of Henry IV it is answered "*Yat Commandament yave no tittle, unless it hadde be done by auctorite of Parliament.*" Where *Yave* stands for *Gave*; the *Y* being used for *G*. To these we may add the words *ward* and *guard*, *wile* and *guile*, *if* and *gif*, and many other words, that the reader's own observation may supply to this purpose.

As I mentioned before that the old Celtic language was the radix of most others in Europe, before the Roman conquests; so we find in Germany, the words *Geol* and *Geola*, for a holy day, and *beilig*, *sanctus*; from whence we form our word *boly* in the same sense; all which in the main are the same with the British words *wyl* and *gwyl*, a festival. It is to be observed that the *g* in *beilig* is softened into *y* in *boly*; and in like manner, most of the Saxon words ending in *g*, in the English language are softened into *y*, as *deg*, a day; *weg*, a way, &c.

I AM inclined to think that when the Saxons became christians, they called the month of December, *Giuli*, or the month of the great *Gule* or *Nativity*, by way of eminence. After what has been offered on this subject, it can scarce be doubted, but that the grand *Gala*, or the great court festival at Vienna, was so called from the *Wyl* or *Gwyl*, before mentioned. Although the word be Spanish, signifying, a holiday dress, or festival habit, (perhaps introduced by Charles the IVth into Germany), yet it might be

be a word of the Wisigoths, reducible to the same origin as the Celtic, British, and German, *Wyl*, *Gwyl*, *Geola*, a holyday, or festival. So when the court of Vienna is said to be *in Gala*, *en Gala*, it means the court was in their *festival Dress*.

It may throw some light probably on other parts of the British language and customs, if we consider the reason why *Wyl* or *Gwyl*, was used to signify a *festival* or *holyday*. It was so called from a word of the same sound in the Celtic, or British language, that implied *watching*; for it was a custom, from the earliest antiquity, to begin their festivals on the evening of the preceding day, and continue them all night, to the evening of the next, with music and singing. Isaiah xxx. 29, alludes to this manner of celebrating their festivals—*You shall have a song as in the night, when the holy solemnity is kept—and gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to come into the mountain of the Lord, &c.* השיר יהיה לכם כלילה התקדש חג. Commentators observe, that the *night* is here mentioned, because “incipiebat solemnitas a nocte” “five vespera praeedente—Judaei diem adeoque festum a nocte incipiebant.” See Pool’s Synopsi Criticorum in loc.

So among the Greeks, the festivals of their Gods were celebrated by night with music and dancing.—Hence the Poet, Georgic. IV. 521.

Nocturnique orgia Bacchi,
and Æneid. IV. 609.

Nocturnique Hecate triviis ululata per urbes,
and Æneid. IV. 303.

Trieterica Baccho

Orgia, nocturnusque vocat clamore Citheron.

Hence these nocturnal feasts, in honour of Bacchus, were called Νυκτελεια, Νυκτελειος.

IN imitation of the Jewish and Heathenish custom of beginning the festival the night before, the Christians kept their *vigils* or

eves before holydays, with music and all kinds of festivity; this the Britons called *nos wyl* or *wyl nos*, the *evening of the feast*. This was received by them with the first principles of Christianity, and they called this nightly celebration of a festival, *gwiliau* or *watching*, so that *watching* and celebrating the festival, signified the same thing. Thus Matt. xxvi. 41. *Watch and pray*, in the British translation, is rendered *gwiliwch a gweddiwch*, watch; from this *gwiliau* or *watching*, they called the festival *wyl* or *gwyl*: for the same reason a *festival*, among the Saxons, was called a *wake*, from *watching* at the nightly celebration of it; and what we at present call *the Waits*, or the music on the nights of the Christmas holydays, is only a corruption of the *wakes* or *nocturnal* festivities. So that we may very reasonably derive *wyl*, or *gwyl*, a festival, from the *wyliau*, or *gwiliau*, the custom of *watching*, and sitting up all night at them. Our *revells*, likewise, which in some parts of England are the names given to the festivals of the dedication of Churches, and were so called from the French word *reveiller*, to *watch*, which was formed out of the word *veiller* in the same signification, have a plain and evident relation to the old Celtic words *wyl* and *willau*, to watch at the nightly celebration of a festival.

As it has been observed before, that the *gala*, or festival of the court of Vienna, may very probably take its name from the Celtic *gule*, or *festival*, we may take notice of a passage in Nonius Marcellus de Proprietate Sermonum, cap. ii. n°. 386, where he explains an old word *gallare*, used by the ancient Romans to signify keeping a *festival* or *holyday*, by *bacchari*: *gallare, bacchari*. and quotes out of Varro the expression *Deum gallantes*, and *quae venustas hic adest gallantibus*, which last word plainly points out the origin of the French and Italian, *galant* and *galante*, and the Spanish *galan*. The phrase *deum gallantes* relates to the celebration of the festival of some goddess, perhaps Cybele, or the Dea Phrygia,
by

by the priests called *Galli*; but whether the *Galli* had their name from *gallare*, or *gallare* was formed from the *Galli*, it is evident both the words had relation to some festival solemnity in honour of a supposed deity; and as we have before seen the words *wyl*, *gwyl*, *geola*, *gaela*, *gala*, all relate to *keeping holiday* among the descendants of the ancient Celtic nations, we may suppose that the words *gallare* and *galli*, in the same sense, and signification among the Phrygians and northern Asiatics, were derived from the same original.

I know some learned men are of opinion that these *Galli*, or priests of Cybele, were so called from גלל *gul*, *exultare*, with a view to the celebration of their festivals with musick and dancing, whence came also the Greek αγαλλειν and γελαν, *to dress, and laugh, or rejoice*; and some have derived hence the word *galant*; and it must be owned, that the most learned of the the two Scaligers, Becman, Meric Casaubon, and others, have clearly proved that the northern languages of Europe, through the intervention of the Greek, partake much of the Hebrew language as their original: but how far that is to be admitted in the present case, I leave to the judgement of others. All that I am concerned in at present is to shew, that the expression of the *Gule of August*, made use of in our laws for the first day of August, or St. Peter ad vincula, had that name given it, from the Celtic or British *wyl* or *gwyl*, signifying a festival or holyday. So that the *Gule of August* means no more than the holyday of St. Peter ad vincula in August, when the people of England under Popery paid their *Peter Pence*.

IX. *Observations on the Mistakes of Mr. Lisle and Mr. Hearne, in respect of King Ælfred's present to the Cathedrals. The late Use of the Stylus, or metalline Pen. Mr. Wise's Conjecture concerning the famous Jewel of King Alfred, further pursued, shewing it might possibly be Part of the Stylus sent by that King, with Gregory's Pastoral, to the Monastery at Athelney. By Mr. Pegge.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Jan. 10, 1765.

MY LORD,

THE remark which I had the honour to make to your Lordship, that the late Mr. Hearne, when he liked his author, would follow him implicitly, without giving himself any trouble to examine into the truth of his assertion, I am now going to verify, by producing, what I think, a very palpable instance.

THE representation Mr. Lisle gives us of king Alfred's dispersing the copies of his Saxon version of St. Gregory's pastoral, and of his translation of the Bible, is something particular; "which [translation of the Bible] also, with the Pastoral of St. Gregory so likewise englished, and certain manufes, or marks, of gold, the fairest of his coine, hee sent to his cathedral churches; where the bookes have beene kept ever since, till of late[a]." Remarkable as this passage is, I should have taken no notice of it, had not I found it used in argument by the late Mr. Hearne, who seems thereby to have adopted it for his own [b].

[a] Lisle's Pref. to the Treatise of Ælfrieus Abbas, § 14.

[b] Annot. on Sir John Spelman's Life of Ælfred, p. 213.

But

But the passage abounds with mistakes ; for first, besides the uncertainty of king Ælfred's having translated the *whole Bible*, which is acknowledged by Mr. Hearne [c], there is not the least evidence of the king's transmitting his translation, under the circumstances here mentioned, to his several cathedrals. His version of St. Gregory's Pastoral was presented by him to his cathedral churches, but I remember nothing of his sending his version of the Bible to them. And yet, if Mr. Lisle is to be believed, the several cathedrals were in possession of both these books of the king's translation, *till of late*, which we will interpret, if your Lordship pleases, till the year 1500, before the Reformation [d]. I doubt, this is said, on very slender grounds ; indeed, I am of opinion, on none at all.

It may ill become me, after what I have advanced elsewhere [e], on the subject of the Anglo-Saxons having coined Gold, to raise any objection upon this head ; but *magna est veritas*, and therefore I remark, 2dly, That though this king might possibly have coined *some* gold, a supposition to which the greatest Antiquaries have no exception to make, yet the evidence before us, which I presume is that of the king himself in his preface to St. Gregory's Pastoral, does not prove it ; there being only mention made therein of certain *manusses*, without specifying that they were gold. And moreover, that there were not in fact, at any time, any such pieces

[c] Ælfred did not in fact translate the whole Bible ; for to go no further, see Archbp. Usher's *Historia Dogmatica*.

[d] See Mr. Hearne, loc. cit. where he seems to concur with Mr. Lisle, even in this.—If these copies had been remaining at the Reformation, most of them would appear now ; for Archbishop Parker, and others, made diligent search after them, along with other Saxon MSS. and yet no more than two at most could be found. See Hickes's *Thef.* iii. p. 71. for one of these is supposed not to be a cathedral copy, but rather to be designed for a Thane. lb. p. 217. Bishop LYTTTELTON.

[e] See the Series of Dissertations on some Anglo-Saxon Remains.

away from the books. There is a connection or relation between a *stylus* and the books [i], (and therefore he desires they may continue together); but none, that one can discern, between the books and the money, for the king to desire they should not be parted; neither is it easy to conceive, how it should come to pass, that Mr. Lisle, in his representation of this matter, should drop the *stylus*, and speak in the manner he does of the money instead of it, when he wrote from this evidence, and had both the original in archbishop Parker's edition, and his grace's Latin translation before him, as in reason we ought to presume. Possibly it might be from an apprehension, that the *stylus* was now grown into disuse; but this was not the case; for we hear of it both at this time, and after [k].

SHOULD it be alleged, that *æstel* in the Saxon original may not mean a *stylus*, as the Latin Interpreter gives it; it must be acknowledged, it is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, and has been variously understood [l]; yet most are of opinion it properly denotes the *stylus*, from which Latin word it may seem, say they, to be derived. But let the meaning of the term be what it will, the charge upon

[i] Mr. Wise thinks the *Stylus* was chiefly for the use of the master or teacher, to whom it might be subservient in a double capacity; that is, both for writing, and by way of an *indicatorium* or *festuca*. This is certainly very probable; and supposing these books to have been written with a pen, the latter use accounts very well for their being accompanied by a *stylus*.

[k] See Mr. Wise ad Affer. Menev. p. 176. Dr. Lister, in his journey to Paris, p. 118, tells us, he saw in the abby of St. Germain's, and in the King's Library, some codicils, or waxen table books of the Antients, and observes, that "by the letter, (for he could read here and there a word) it was manifest they were in use much later than he could have imagined."

[l] Somner and Benson's Dictionaries, and Mr. Wise. As it signifies *manubrium sive ansa* according to some, from hence, Mr. Wise thinks, comes our north country word *the steel* or handle of a thing. Mr. Lye however, deduces this from the Belgick *stela*, and the Saxon *stela*.

Mr.

Mr. Lisle, and Mr. Hearne, in regard to the point before us, will still hold good.

BUT it may be thought that these *styli* could never be worth 50 mancussæ apiece, this amounting, if you rate the mancussa at 7s. 6d. to 18l. 15s. of our present money. Indeed this sounds something wonderful at first: but it should be considered, that these were royal presents to the cathedrals, which in this king's dominions were not numerous at that time; and further, that though the instruments themselves cannot be thought to rise to any such value, yet the handles of them might be enriched, in the materials and workmanship, to almost any sum. Mr. Wise has on this occasion produced an example of a very magnificent stylus of King Childeric [m]. The king might also be desirous, as Mr. Wise further observes, of exciting his subjects, by this extraordinary act of liberality, to the love of learning. He, I may add, was himself an instance how much young people are taken with rich and showy things; for he was first drawn to reading, when twelve years old, by the sight of a fine book of his mother's [n].

DR. HICKES in his Thesaurus had engraved a famous jewel [o] of this king [p]. It was found in the isle of Athelney, where king Ælfred in his distresses concealed himself so successfully, and after-

[m] Montfaucon, in opposition to Chiffet, cited by Mr. Wise, esteems this jewel of Childeric to be a buckle rather than a *stylus*.

[n] Spelman's *Life of Ælfred*, p. 109.

[o] Skelton calls it a golden *pearl*, from the shape, p. 19. and Appendix, p. 204. where he objects to the word *jewel*; but without grounds; for jewel was a very extensive term. The figure in the obverse is composed of gold lines, the interstices whereof are enamel; this is covered with a glass or crystal, and all the rest is gold.

[p] Tom. I. p. 142. It is also engraved in the *Philosophical Transactions*; see Lowthorp's abridgement, v. III. p. 441: by Dr. Musgrave in his works, with a dissertation: by Dr. Wotton, in his *Conspectus Hiccesii Thesauri*, § 18: by Bishop Gibson in Camden, col. 75: by Mr. Skelton, in his translation of Wotton, p. 19: and

afterwards in gratitude for that signal deliverance erected a monastery. It is not certainly known, to what use this valuable curiosity, which it seems is of exquisite workmanship, far superior to what might be expected from the rude state of arts in those times, might be put [q]; but amongst other conjectures Mr. Wise imagines, and very probably, it might have been the handle of a stylus. And if one should say it was one of those *styli*, which the king sent along with his translation of Gregory's pastoral, it would be no great absurdity. There is no doubt but this *κειμήλιον* was once the property of the great king Ælfred, notwithstanding the goodness of the work, which has been an objection to its authenticity, for the king's name is expressly mentioned in the inscription, *ALFRED MÆL HEHT [r] LEWƿREAN. Ælfredus me iussit fabricari*. It may here be alledged, that the king sent his presents to the *cathedral churches*; but with submission this does not imply, that he might not also send the like

and by Mr. Wise, in *Addend.* to his neat edition of *Asser. Menev.* p. 171, who informs us, it is now in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford, where probably your Lordship has seen it. Robert Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, caused the obverse to be engraved for Dr. Hickes, from *a drawing made by himself*, a circumstance which I mention because Skelton omits it in his note, p. 19, which he ought not to have done.

[q] Dr. Musgrave once thought it might be an Amulet; but Ælfred never ran, that we know of, into such vanities. Dr. Hickes thought it might be the head of our Saviour (and Dr. Musgrave afterwards came into the same opinion) or of the pope that consecrated this king in his youth. He imagined afterwards, the King might wear it on his breast as a constant memorial of St. Cuthbert, whose head he supposes to be represented upon it, and who, after he had appeared to him, was probably his patron-saint. Lowthorpe's abridgement, and Dr. Hickes' preface, p. 8. Mr. Wise objects to its being either the head of Christ, or St. Cuthbert, on account of the military habit, and the helmet; and proposes it to consideration whether it may not be the head of Ælfred himself; a conjecture, in my opinion, highly plausible.

[r] Wotton and Shelton give it HEIT and ðEIT; but it is evidently HEHT, from *hetan* or *hehtan, jubere*.

to the two monasteries of his own foundation, this of Athelney, and the other at Shaftesbury; it is most probable he would send a book and a *stylus* to both those places; and if he did, this jewel bids fair, in my opinion, to be the handle or upper part [s] of the stylus, which was presented by him to the house of Athelney, where it was found. We are to suppose the king did not send his presents all at once, but from time to time, as occurred to his thoughts, and was most *a-propos*. He sent them at first to the several sees, but to other places and persons afterwards, as he saw occasion. This I collect from his giving one copy of his book to Hehstan bishop of London, and another afterwards to Wulfsige, Hehstan's successor in that see [t], which shews, that though he speaks of sending one copy to every see, this did not hinder him from sending other copies to the prelates, as they might happen to be promoted, and also to other places where he might think proper [u], and perhaps to some of his Thanes.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

SAMUEL PEGGE.

Whittington, August 15, 1764.

[s] In this case what the doctors Hickes and Musgrave, supposing it to be suspended and worn upon the breast, call the Apex, will be on the contrary the bottom or lower part.

[t] Wife, p. 174, 175.

[u] The copy mentioned, Hickes Thes. iii. p. 217, not having been sent, could not be that which was presented to Athelney, but must have been intended for some other place or person. Bishop LYTTLETON.

X. *Observa-*

X. *Observations on the Aestel. By the Reverend Dr. Milles, in a Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, President.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, May 9, 1765.

Grosvenor-Street, March 21, 1765.

MY LORD,

IN a paper lately communicated by your Lordship to the Society, from Mr. Pegge, that learned gentleman has animadverted very properly on the mistakes which Mr. Lisle, and after him Mr. Hearne, have been guilty of in translating a passage of king Alfred's preface to Gregory's pastoral; for they represent him as sending a copy of this book to each of his cathedral churches, together *with certain mancusses or marks of gold the fairest of his coin*. But the passage is thus rendered in Spelman's life of that king [a], "*Ad unamquamque episcopi sedem in regno unum (sc. librum) missi, superque singulos libros stylum qui est quinquaginta mancussae.*" Whatever authority the translator might have for rendering the Saxon word *Æstel* by *stylus*, it seems evident by this passage that *mancussae*, considered either as coins struck in England by Alfred, or as the current coins of other kingdoms, are entirely out of the case, and therefore this passage is immaterial to the question so long agitated, about the Saxon coinage of gold; for they are introduced here only as denominating and ascertaining the weight of the *Æstel*, which is said to have been put upon, or rather affixed to the books, either as an ornamental, or useful part of them; and therefore all persons were ad-

[a] Appendix, p. 196.

jured by the king, not to take the *Ærtel* from the book, nor the book from the church.

THOUGH Mr. Hearne had copied Mr. Lisle's opinion, in a note on his translation of Alfred's life, yet he soon corrected that idea in a small dissertation, written expressly on this word *Ærtel*, and prefixed to the 7th volume of Leland's Itinerary. Probably this piece had escaped Mr. Pegge's observation; otherwise, I think, he would have taken notice of it, as containing the most natural explanation of that word. For Mr. Hearne neither supposes the fifty *mancaffae* to have been gold coins, nor does he even allow the *Ærtel* to signify a *stylus*, which, as he observes, were usually implements of small value, made either of iron or bone, or some such cheap materials, observing that silver or golden styles have never been heard of: that in Alfred's time vellum had taken place of waxen tablets, and consequently pens succeeded to styles; and Mr. Hearne justifies the use of this word from Chaucer, who, in the letter of Cupide, calls a handle a *stele*,

And when that man the pan bath by the stele,

AGREEABLY to which the word is still used in the northern parts of England in the same signification, as I am informed. To which observations I will beg leave to add, the great improbability of sending so many copies of a book in waxen tablets, when they might have been written in a more convenient and durable manner by ink on vellum; and it is observed by authors who have treated on Roman customs, that it was not usual to commit things of great moment or importance to these tablets, but only such as were in common and daily use, such as letters [b]: It might seem also quite unmeaning and superfluous to accompany this book with a stylus, when there was no addition nor alteration to be made in the work.

MALMSBURY indeed says, that the book was sent *cum pugillari aureo in quo erat manca auri*. The pugillare cannot, in this passage, signify the waxen tables, as that word generally imports; nor

[b] See Hoffman's Lexicon, tom. iii. in voce PUGILLARE.

is it commonly used for a stylus; and the manca auri must certainly be a mistake, because no ornament of gold which was worthy of such notice, could be so small as to weigh only 3 penny weights. The word *pugillare* therefore may probably be here understood to imply whatever is holden by, or fills the hand, *quod pugillum sive pugnum implere potest*, according to Stephens; and this will lead us to the true explanation of the word *Æstel*, agreeably to Mr. Hearne's idea of it, who supposes it to have been the *umbilicus* of the volume on which this book was written, or rather the two handles or nob's at the extremities, like those affixed to our modern maps, by the means of which the volume was to be rolled up or opened; and on which each copy of the book was sent to the respective cathedrals. In this sense of the word, the *Æstel* was a very proper, and indeed a necessary appendage of the book, and it adds great propriety to the king's request, "that no one would take the *Æstel* from the book;" which, if they had been tempted to do, by the value of this ornament, they would have deprived the volume not only of its beauty, but, in some measure also, of its use.

MR. HEARNE further supposes, that this handle might be magnificently chased and carved, like the famous jewel of Alfred, mentioned by Dr. Hickes [c]: "*Umbilicis spintheribusque argenteis deauratis & arte exquisita caelatis libros suos ornandos curaverat Aethelfredus.*" There is certainly no necessity for such a supposition. The value of six pounds three ounces in silver, or the weight of seven ounces and an half in gold might easily be worked up in forming the *umbilicus*, or rather the two handles at the extremities of it, without the additional expence of sculpture and ornament; nor could these handles be of silver gilt, because the word *mancussa* was peculiarly applied either to gold coin, or to the weight of that metal in bullion. By these *mancusses* all the

[c] Thes. Lit. Sept. Gram. Anglo-sax. p. 142. See also Mr. Wile's annotations on this word, in his Appendix to Asse's Life of Alfred, p. 175.

ornaments, and furniture of gold amongst the Saxons were weighed. Thus Berhtulf, king of Mercia, gave to Heaberht, bishop of the Wiccii, the manor of Wuda, *pro ejus placabili pecunia, id est 31 mancosas in uno annulo* [d]. Alhuin, bishop of Worcester, gave Burgred, king of Mercia, *duas bradeolas affabre factas, quae pensarent 45 mancufas* [e]. Brihtric bequeaths to the king a *beab* or bracelet of 80 mancufes of gold; to the queen an ornament of the same kind of 30 mancufes [f]; and many other like instances appear in our Saxon records. So also when payments were made in the Saxon times, partly in gold, and partly in silver, which was frequently the custom, the former were weighed by mancufes, the latter by pounds. Thus Elfstā bought Wldaham of king Edmund *pro centum duodecim mancufis auri & 30 libris denariorum* [g]. Again bishop Elfstā purchased Bromley of king Edgar *pro 80 mancufis auri purissimi & sex pondus electi argenti* [h]. These mancufes, it is true, might have been paid either by tale or weight; but, in another instance, we must interpret them in the latter sense, where Brihtelm, bishop of Winchester, purchased some lands of king Edwi *cum centum mancufis obrizi auri*; wherein it is also said, *accepto igitur praescripto auri pondere cartam scribere jussit* [i].

TAKING, therefore, this interpretation of the word *Aestel*, the golden handle, or umbilicus, weighed 50 mancufes, each of which, according to the established weight of the byzantine, or mancusa, in the Saxon times, weighed about 68 troy grains, and was equi-ponderant with 3 Saxon pennies; consequently the 50 mancufæ weighed 150 penny weights, or 7 ounces and a half of the Tower

[d] Hemingii Chart. tom. i. p. 70.

[e] Ibid. p. 186.

[f] Preface to Textus Ross. p. 25. Hickes, Dissert. Ep. p. 51. and Lambard's Peramb. of Kent.

[g] Text. Rossens. p. 92.

[h] Ibid. p. 121.

[i] Monast. Angl. tom. iii. p. 120.

pound,

pound, and at the proportional value of 10 to 1 between gold and silver, it was worth 75 ounces, or 6 pounds 3 ounces of silver.

MR. PEGGE has given into the conjectures of Mr. Hearne and Mr. Wise, that the jewel of Alfred before-mentioned might have been the top or extremity of the *Ærtel*; but there seems to be no other ground for this supposition than that they were both the property of the same king; for the former was found near Athelney, in Somersetshire, at a considerable distance from any of his cathedral churches, to which alone these presents were sent; nor is there any analogy between the shape of that jewel, and that of a stylus or manubrium to the book; nor does the weight of it, which Dr. Hickes says was about 1 ounce and 5-8ths, at all coincide with the weight of the *Ærtel*, which was 7 ounces and an half.

XI. *Observations on Mr. Peter Collinson's Paper on the Round Towers in Ireland, printed in the first Volume, p. 305. By Owen Salusbury Brereton, Esq. F. R. S.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Dec. 15, 1763.

WHEN I lately made the tour of the south west parts of Ireland, I saw several of those buildings called usually Penitential Towers; not one of them had either belting or girting, nor the least sign of there having been any room in them till within ten feet of the top; that room had windows exactly facing the cardinal points; from thence, downward to the entrance, which is about fifteen feet above the surface of the ground, only a few flits were cut, just to give light to persons going up or down the stairs. These towers are all built of stone, and exceeding strong, the stones and mortar remarkably good; and in general they are intire to this day, though many churches near which they stood are either in ruins or totally destroyed.

I THINK them rather ancient Irish, than either Pictish or Danish structures, having never heard of one like them in Denmark, or any other part of Europe, except in Scotland: I saw one there at Abernethy, near Perth, which exactly resembles those in Ireland. Upon looking into Gordon's Itinerarium Septentrionale, I find his opinion is, that it was the work of the Picts: what reason there is for such a conjecture I do not see; I rather think we may conclude, when the Irish made their incursions into Scotland, they built the two towers there after the model of so many they had left behind them in Ireland. However, I deem their antiquity greatly
to

to precede the use of bells, cast ones at least, in that country; and from their situation near churches, and having a floor and windows only at the top, I verily believe their principal use to have been to receive a person to call the people to worship with some wind instrument, which would be heard from a much greater distance than small uncast bells possibly could: One of these towers at Dramiskin is, at this day, made use of as a belfry. In Mahometan countries the voices of their Muezens, or callers to prayers, who stand for that purpose on turrets, much higher than their mosques, are heard to a very great distance.

THE Egyptians at this day proclaim the time of worship with some wind instrument from a high place; which I the rather take notice of here, because the late Bishop Pocock often mentions the amazing conformity he had observed between the Irish and the Egyptians in many instances.

WHEN in Holland, I was much surprized to what a distance I heard the man, whose station is at the top of their highest steeples: he blows a trumpet frequently during the night, and if he observes a fire, he keeps the instrument directed that way, and blows with a continuance, which never fails to be heard to the most distant part of their largest towns.

I MUST add here an anecdote I met with in a Welsh MS. of the Gwider family in North Wales, since published by my worthy friend Mr. Barrington; in which it appears, that so late as the year 1600, the common Welsh were so wild, that Sir John Wynn, when he went to church, was forced always to leave a watchman on an eminence, whence he could see both his house and the church; his duty was, to give notice if he saw any attack made on the former, though it was always left bolted, barred, and guarded during church-time. This anecdote naturally hints another manifest use of these towers, as the castles in Ireland (for such every gentleman's house was) almost always stood near a church; and conse-

quently in a country in that age (1015) much more wild than Wales, a watchman at the top of one of these towers, remaining all church-time, must be of the greatest advantage, to give alarms to the family in their churches.

I AM not singular in my opinion on these matters, for both Earl Morton and Bishop Pocock concurred with me; the latter had seen a long trumpet of iron, which was dug from the bottom of one of these towers; several such have been found in Ireland, near these buildings; some of them are exhibited in one of the plates published by this Society, and others are now extant in the Royal Museum.

THE conjecture of their being for the reception of Penitents has been mentioned as Sir James Ware's opinion, but is, indeed, only that of Mr. Harris, the re-publisher of Sir James's *Antiquities of Ireland*: it is ingenious; and after bells came into use, these towers might be appropriated for some such purpose; but I cannot conceive it probable that the antient Irish should build towers of such a height as 130 feet, for the single purpose of having one room only, and that not five feet diameter, for Penitents: and the rather too, as the expence of building them must have been immense; for the stones in general must have been brought from a very great distance, and indeed, I should think, the builders too, the workmanship is so good: whereas much smaller places for prisons, on the ground, and of coarser materials, would have answered every penitentiary use, infinitely better in every respect, and the expence, in comparison of these, would have been extremely trifling.

XII. *Observations on the Round Tower at Brechin, in Scotland.* By Richard Gough, Esq;

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, April 2, 1772.

MR. Gordon, in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, p. 164, 165, and pl. LXII. has described and exhibited two round towers in Scotland; one at Abernethy, near Perth, the other at Brechin. The first being in the capital city of the Picts, of whom it is the only remain, has probably occasioned these monuments to be called Pictish. But as they are more numerous in Ireland, where we have no reason to think that people ever were, and all in that kingdom, as well as in Scotland, stand near parochial or cathedral churches, or churches of some consideration, it seems a more probable conjecture that they were erected in the earliest ages of Christianity, before the introduction of bells (which were first invented or made use of in the 6th or 7th century), from whence to call the people to church by the sound of trumpets or horns, such having been found near, several in Ireland. That at Ardmore has since been used as a belfrey; and Mr. Smith [a] describes two channels cut in the door sill, to let the rope out, the ringer standing below the door, on the outside: in which manner the bells are still rung at Kelso in Scotland.

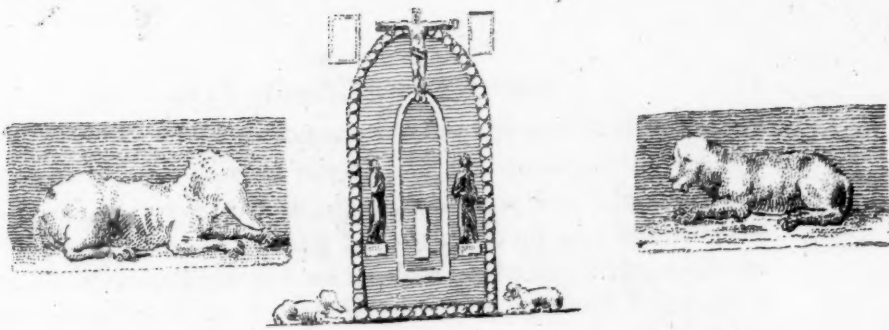
The dimensions of all these towers differ. In Ireland they measure from 35 to 100 feet high; that at Abernethy is 75 feet; that at Brechin 85, without the roof. Both are between 47 and 48 feet in external circumference, which those in Ireland seldom exceed. That at Ardmore has fasciae at the several stories, which

[a] History of Waterford, p. 71.

all the rest, both in Ireland and Scotland, seem to want, as well as stairs, having only abutments, whereon to rest timbers and ladders. Some have windows regularly disposed, others only at the top. Some, like those at Brechin and Ardmore, have stone roofs, which in others are ruined. Some have a kind of base at bottom, which others have not. One at Kineth, in the county of Cork has the lowest of its six stories an hexagon [6]. The situation with respect to the churches also varies. Some in Ireland stand from 25 to 125 feet from the west end of the church. This at Brechin is included in the S. W. angle of the antient cathedral.

As Mr. Gordon's description of this singular monument is imperfect in many particulars, I thought it would not be disagreeable to this Society to see a drawing which I last summer made of it, and the W. front of the antient church, where King David founded an episcopal see about 1150. The choir has only the two side walls remaining, with four windows of the lancet form, their arches adorned with the nail head quatrefoil, and supported by a cluster of three slender pillars. The nave, which now serves as a parish church, has two aisles, and a handsome square tower at the west end of the north aisle. The method of fitting up kirks in Scotland, crowding them with seats and galleries, destroys all the effects of the finest pieces of Gothic architecture, as the uneven, broken, and dirty floors disappoint the closest search for sepulchral monuments. The west door is adorned with two mouldings of the nail head quatrefoil, and the window over it is in a good style. The roof of the first story of the square or N. W. tower is of stone, rays issuing from a circle. The bells are in this tower, which, with the round one, standing at the south west angle of the west front, give this church a cathedral-like appearance. This round tower communicates with the church within by a door, and consists of sixty

[6] Smith's History of Cork, vol. II. p. 407.



West Front of Brechin Church.



regular courses of hewn stone, of a brighter colour than the adjoining building. It is 85 feet high to the cornice, whence rises a low spiral pointed roof of stone, with three or four windows, and on the top a vane, making 15 feet more; in all 100 feet from the ground. Mr. Gordon says there is a door on the south side, about the same dimensions with that at Abernethy, i. e. about 8 feet and a half high, by 2 feet and a half wide, and over it our Saviour on the cross, and two little statues towards the middle. But the fact is, that on the west front are two arches, one within the other in relief; on the point of the outermost is a crucifix, and between both, towards the middle, are figures of the Virgin Mary and St. John, the latter holding a cup with a lamb. The outer arch is adorned with knobs, and within both is a small slit or loop [c]. At bottom of the outer arch are two beasts couchant. If one of them by his proportions was not evidently an elephant, I should suppose them the supporters of the Scotch arms. Parallel with the crucifix are two plain stones, which do not appear to have had any thing on them. Here is not the least trace of a door in these arches, nor any where else, except that in the church, which faces the North as in the Abernethy tower.

[c] Mr. Smith observes that the doors in most of the Irish towers face the West entrance of the church, or church yard. Hist. of Cork, vol. II. p. 408. One contiguous to the South transept of Ossory cathedral has its door facing the South.

XIII. *The Bull-running, at Tutbury, in Staffordshire, considered. By the Reverend Mr. Pegge.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, February 14, 1765.

I KNOW of nothing that affords the inquisitive mind of man so much pleasure, as the developing the original of antient and obscure customs; and if it happens, that former conjectures have miscarried, and men's opinions concerning them have been thereby misled, the satisfaction will then be double, because, at the same time that you establish a truth, you are routing and convicting an error.

THE Bull-running at Tutbury, in Staffordshire, is a custom, or tenure, of so singular a nature, that our Antiquaries could not well avoid taking notice of it. Mr. Blount, accordingly, in his *Antient Tenures*, has given us a short account of it, p. 168, and another from the Coucher of the honour of Tutburye, cap. de libertatibus, p. 171; also an account of the modern usage, p. 174. But the fullest and best description hitherto extant is in Dr. Plott's *Natural History of Staffordshire*, p. 439, et seq. Yet this author, in my opinion, is entirely mistaken as to the original of this custom. But to judge of this, I must here give you the Doctor's words.

AFTER he has given us an account of the election of the king of the minstrels, and the officers of that body, he proceeds thus: "The court riseth, and all persons then repair to another fair room within the castle [of Tutbury], where a plentiful dinner is prepared for them; which being ended, the minstrels went antiently to the abbey gate, now to a little barn by the town side, in expectation of the bull to be turned forth to them, which was formerly done
" (according

“ (according to the custom above-mentioned) by the Prior of Tutbury, now by the earl of Devonshire : which bull, as soon as his horns are cut off, his ears cropt, his tail cut by the stumple, all his body smeared over with soap, and his nose blown full of beaten pepper ; in short, being made as mad as it is possible for him to be, after solemn proclamation made by the steward, that all manner of persons give way to the bull, none being to come near him by forty feet, any way to hinder the minstrels, but to attend his, or their own safeties, every one at his peril ; this then forthwith turned out to them (antiently by the prior) now by the lord Devonshire, or his deputy, to be taken by them, and none other, within the county of Stafford, between the time of being turned out to them, and the setting of the sun the same day ; which if they cannot do, but the bull escapes from them untaken, and gets over the river into Derbyshire, he remains still my lord Devonshire's bull : but if the said minstrels can take him, and hold him so long, as to cut off but some small matter of his hair, and bring the same to the mercat cross, in token they have taken him, the said bull is then brought to the bayliff's house, in Tutbury, and there collared and roapt, and so brought to the bull-ring in the High-street, and there bated with dogs : the first course being allotted for the king, the second for the honour of the town, and the third for the king of the minstrels ; which, after it is done, the said minstrels are to have him for their own, and may sell, or kill and divide him amongst them, according as they shall think good. And thus this rustic sport, which they call the Bull-running, should be annually performed by the minstrels only, but now-a-days they are assisted by the promiscuous multitude, that flock thither in great numbers, &c.”

As to the original of this custom, the Doctor is pleased to bring it from Spain, and the world has hitherto acquiesced with him in that

that notion. He observes, that as much mischief may have been done at this bull-running, "as in the *Jeu de taureau*, or bull-fighting practised at Valentia, Madrid, and many other places "in Spain [*a*]; whence, perhaps, this our custom of bull-running might be derived, and set up here by John of Gaunt, who "was king of Castile and Leon, and lord of the honour of Tutbury; for why might not we receive this sport from the Spaniards, as well as they from the Romans, and the Romans from the Greeks? Wherein I am the more confirmed, for that the "ταυροκαθαιψίων ἡμέραι amongst the Thessalians, who first instituted this game, and of whom Julius Caesar learned it, and brought it "to Rome, were celebrated much about the same time of the "year our bull-running is, viz. pridie idus Augusti, on the 12th "of August [*b*]; which, perhaps, John of Gaunt, in honour of "the Assumption of our Lady, being but three days after, might "remove to the 15th, as after-ages did (that all the solemnity and "court might be kept on the same day, to avoid further trouble) "to the 16th of August."

THIS conjecture concerning the first rise of this custom is undoubtedly very plausible at first sight, but I doubt it will not bear examining; on the contrary, it will appear, upon consideration, that there is too much reason for dissenting from the learned Doctor on this article.

FIRST, it does not at all appear, that John of Gaunt, king of Castile and Leon, was the person that instituted the bull-running at Tutbury, or was any way concerned in it. He gave the minstrels their charter, and they were his servants, and the four stewards were chosen in his court; but the bull was found, and turned out, by the prior of Tutbury, and his grace the duke of Devonshire,

[*a*] Franc. Willoughby's Voyage through Spain, p. 499.

[*b*] Prideaux, in notis ad marmor Ταυροκαθαιψίων, inter Marmora Oxoniensia.

I presume,

I presume, finds the bull at this time, as successor to that prior, and as grantee of the site of the priory, and the estates belonging to it [a]. The bull was turned out antiently at the abbey-gate, and by the prior; John of Gaunt or his officers being no way employed in that service.

I OBSERVE next, that the dimission of the bull is entirely for the benefit and diversion of the minstrels; whereas the *Toros*, or Bull-fighting in Spain, is an exercise of the cavaleros on horseback, a game of the *circus*, and totally different from the former; in proof of which, I need only refer to the account given of it by an indisputable author, the earl of Clarendon [b].

It appears plainly from lord Clarendon's narration, that the two diversions, of the bull-running at Tutbury and the *Toros* in Spain are entirely of a different nature, and consequently of a very different original, the former being by no means borrowed or copied from the latter. The one is a martial exercise for noblemen and gentlemen on horseback, the other a ludicrous diversion for a company of fiddlers and pipers on foot; for, as Dr. Plot observes, though there be now a mixed multitude, it ought to be annually performed by the minstrels alone. In one, the bull, and many of the species, is to be *killed* with the utmost dexterity of a single combatant; but at Tutbury he is only to be *won* by a number of persons, part for their entertainment, and part for their benefit and advantage: indeed the two pastimes seem to agree in no one point but this, that sport is to be made with a bull.

I OBSERVE lastly, that the bull-running is a *tenure*, as well as a diversion; that is, the finding and dimission of the bull is a condition or term, on which his grace the duke of Devonshire holds the priory of this place: and it was probably such at the first insti-

[a] Tanner's Notitia Mon. p. 493.

[b] Life, vol. I. p. 224.

tution of the sport, which, for aught any one can tell, may be as antient as the erection of the priory, A. D. 1080. It is remarkable, that John of Gaunt, in his grant to the minstrels, refers to the customs of *antient times* [c], inasmuch that one has reason to think that this practice of turning out a bull for their use and diversion, might be an usage also of high antiquity. If this be the case, the deriving of the custom from Spain, and the introducing of it by John of Gaunt, will be totally superseded. However, the custom being of the nature of a tenure, it differs materially from the public entertainment of the *Toros* either at Rome or in Spain.

WHAT Dr. Plot remarks in regard of the time, is very frivolous. At Tutbury, the celebration of the bull-running is in the summer, as one would expect it to be; but in Spain, the *Toros* is exhibited three times a year of course, and is celebrated moreover on every extraordinary incident of national joy. Nothing certainly can be inferred, as to the derivation of the bull-running from Spain, from the day of celebrity, the 15th or 16th of August.

IN short, the chief foundation of Dr. Plot's mistake concerning this business seems to be, his ascribing to the honour or manor of Tutbury, and consequently to John of Gaunt, what belonged in fact to the priory at that place. And now that we, after thus discarding the Doctor's notion, may here, for a conclusion, add something better of our own, I would beg leave to observe, that this affair of soaping, curtailings, and turning out a bull to be caught at Tutbury, seems to me, exclusive of its property as a tenure, to be no other than a *russic sport*, as Dr. Plot, in one place, rightly calls it of the same kind with those that are now sometimes practised all over this country. For on occasions of rendezvous and public meetings of merriment in a village, the landlord of the ale-house will give a tup, (so they call a ram) or a pig, well soaped,

[c] Plot, p. 436. Blount, p. 167.

with

with the tail, and the horns, and the ears, respectively, cut off. He that catches the tup is to have him; but if he be not taken, he returns to the landlord, just as the bull does here at Tutbury to the prior, that is, to the duke his representative. One sees something of the same kind at Kidlington, in Oxfordshire, where, on Monday after Whitfun week, a fat lamb is turned out, and the maids of the town having their thumbs tied behind them, run after it; and she that with her mouth takes and holds the lamb, is declared *Lady of the Lamb*, &c. [d] Upon the whole, the running after the tup, or pig, being a common diversion at wakes, and other times of festivity, especially in the summer, this running of the bull at Tutbury seems only to differ from it, in that it is a sport of a higher kind, and is made the matter of a tenure.

[d] Blount's Tenures, p. 149.

XIV. *Observations on an Altar, with a Greek Inscription, at Corbridge, in Northumberland. By the Rev. Dr. Pettingal.*

Read at the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, May 8, 1766.

THE person who communicated this inscription to the Society a few years ago, informed us that it was found about Corbridge, in Northumberland, *near the wall*; where, as there were many Roman legions, particularly the Legio Secunda Augusta, and Vicesima Victrix ordered thither, the first from Isca Silurum, the other from Deva, or Chester, in order to keep the wall in repair, and defend it [a]. We can make no doubt of its being Roman, notwithstanding it is written in Greek characters; for this manner of writing inscriptions was an affectation frequently to be met with in the Lower Empire, or after the time of Constantine; and was sometimes carried so far, as that when the language was entirely Latin, the character was Greek, and *vice versa*: examples of which are to be found in Fabretti, Inscrip. p. 390, and 465.

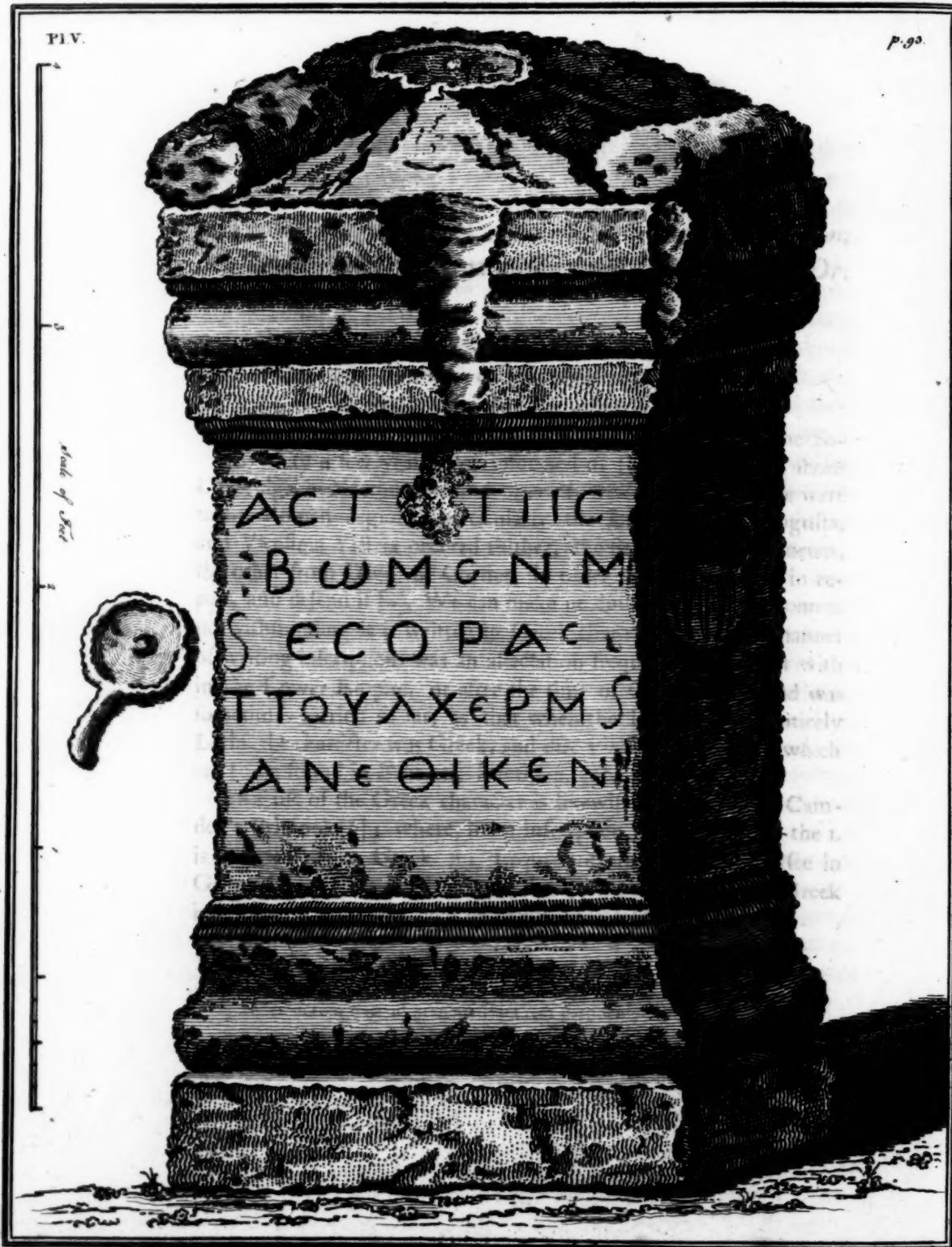
THE use of the Greek character is likewise to be seen in Camden's Britannia[b]; where, in an inscription, VEXILL. LEG. the L is written by a Greek Λ; frequent examples of which see in Gruter [c]. Thus much may be sufficient to account how Greek inscriptions came to be used by the Roman soldiers in Britain.

[a] Ptolomy.

[b] Cumberland, p. 885.

[c] Index eorum quæ ad grammaticam rem pertinent, Litera L.





WE now come to the inscription itself *.

I READ the first word ACTTHC, which only can be the nominative to *αυθητες*, and as such it does not seem to be a proper name, because it has nothing in it of Roman formation; neither is there mention of any such, as I remember, in any Roman inscription. It is rather to be supposed relative to the collective body of the Ala Prima, or Ala Secunda *Astorum*, the first or second wing of the *Asti*, of which we are told in the Notitia Imperii Occidentis, cap. 89, de duce Britanniarum, that the first was stationed at *Condurco*, the last at *Cilurno per lineam valli*. *Condurco* is called by Mr. Camden *Chester in the street*; and *Cilurno*, *Wallwich*, or *Ilchester*, both which lie near the wall, and in the neighbourhood of Chester le street, which is between 21 and 22 miles distant from Corbridge, where this inscription was found.

THESE *Asti* that formed the Ala Prima at *Condurco*, or *Chester le street*, we are told in the Notitia, came from *Asta*, Colonia Ligurum, now *Asti* in Piedmont. From this account of the *Asti*, whose station was near to the place where this antient monument was discovered, we may fairly conclude, that ACTTHC, in the inscription, related to one of the first or second Ala, or the first cohort of the *Asti* (for the *Tribunus Primae Cohortis Astorum* was quartered at *Aesica*, as appears from the Notitia) and that the portion of lands that in the Agrarian division fell to the *Asti*, lay hereabouts. I mention this, because it may, perhaps, throw light upon the next particular, BOMON MECOP, which, I am inclined to think, stands for *βωμον μεσοπιον*, from whence it will appear, that this monumental altar was also an *ara terminalis*; for *μεσοπιον* signifies a boundary between lands of different property; and perhaps here, between the allotments of the different companies of the soldiers.

BUT first, it is to be observed of the word *βωματος*, that it does not stand here in a religious sense, for an altar whereon they were

* See the plate,

to sacrifice, or make libations to any god, which was usually marked by *Diis manibus*, or *Jovi*, or *Neptuno sacrum*, or to any other deity. But *βυμος* here signified the same as *ara* in the Latin inscriptions; variety of which may be seen in Gutherius de jure manium, lib. ii. cap. 19, de Aris Monumenti, aut Sepulchri.

FABRETTI [c] observes, *aram esse idem ac urnam, basim, seu cippum ipsum funebrem, jam pridem notarunt viri docti*; and produces an inscription, where the *ara*, like *sepulchrum*, *heredes, non sequetur*. H. A. H. N. S. "Hæc ara heredes non sequetur," whence he concludes, that *ara* and *sepulchrum* were synonymous terms.

He likewise observes out of Gruter, that *ara* and *urna sepulchralis* and *sepultura* were of one and the same signification; and proceeds to shew, that the antients erected these *arae* in their lifetime, *sibi et suis*, which would be ridiculous to be supposed, if it was to be understood as appropriated for a sacrifice or any religious use; whence he concludes, that as *sibi et suis* related only to the memory of them, *ara* could stand for nothing more than *urna* or *cippus*, i. e. a sepulchral monument.

WHAT was the use of this *βυμος*, when it was *μεσσηριος*, or erected on the bounds of lands, we may learn from the Agrarian laws relating to sepulchres, the position of which was determined according to the design with which they were erected. For when sepulchres were built by the way side, which was very common, especially on the sides of the great roads leading to Rome, such as the Appian way, and others; we are told by Varro, that it was to put those that passed by in mind of their own mortality. "Monumenta in sepulchris secundum viam sunt, quae praetereuntes *admoneant et se fuisse, et illos esse mortales* [d]." There was another reason for placing sepulchres or monuments in that situation,

[c] Inscript. cap. ii. p. 107, in a note upon p. 76.

[d] De Ling. Lat. lib. v.

because

because of receiving the good wishes and benediction of passengers. Hence the usual salutation, *fit tibi terra levis*, χαῖρε, ὁ γίανς, have; and it is to be observed, that from this circumstance of the way side, the *viator* is so often addressed in monumental inscriptions, *fiste, viator*; and Gruter, p. 556, 2. *Bene fit tibi, viator, qui me praeteristi*. Examples of this sort are frequently to be met with in books of inscriptions.

BUT besides this custom of erecting monuments on the road side for the reasons above-mentioned, there was another of placing them on the bounds of their lands, or military allotments, as meers, or bounds, to terminate property, for which reason they are called by Dolabella, *fines sepultuarii et cineritii* [e]; and seem to be confined merely to the partition of conquered lands among the soldiers. To this purpose there is a law of Tiberius preserved in Frontinus, and the *Authores rei Agrariae* [f], which ordered, *cum ager divisus militi traderetur extremis a compaginantibus agris limitibus, monumenta sepulchrave sacrentur*. "That when lands "were to be divided among the soldiers, the monuments, or "sepulchres, should be always put in the bounds." Again, *eorum igitur sepulchrorum sequenda est constitutio, quae extremis finibus concurrentes plures agrorum cursus spectant*. "That the same law "about sepulchres should continue in force, by which they were "appointed as limits between adjoining lands." By which, I conceive, was meant, that all the lands inwards from that sepulchre did belong to the troop, or band, of which the deceased (whose monument that was) had been a part. As for instance, all the land inwards from that monument, to another that bounded it on another side, did belong to the *Assi*.

[e] See Dolabella, p. 293, in the *Authores rei agrariae sive finium regundorum*. Edit. Paris, 1554, 4to.

[f] See the above *Authores rei agrariae*, p. 345, Imp. Tib. Caesar de sepulchris.

WITHOUT any more quotations out of agrarian authors, who are very full to this purpose, what has been offered will be sufficient to shew what is meant by the words *βωμον μεσop* in the inscription before us. It shews, that the stone was not only monumental, but a boundary likewise, answering to Tiberius's law about the division of lands to the soldiers, as above-mentioned; from which law, and the custom consequent upon it, the rendering MECOP by *μεσopιον* will be justified; and the situation where this stone was found near *Severus's wall*, may support the probability that this was a monumental boundary on the lands of the Aſti, who were stationed hereabouts *ad lineam valli*, as described by the Notitia.

THE custom of burying on the extreme limits of their lands was very antient, and derived most probably from the east. In the last chapter of Joshua, we read that he was buried in *the border of his inheritance*. בגבול נחלתו bigbul nachatatho, *in termino possessionum ejus*; *ev opia* as the LXX; in *termino*, Tremel; from whence it is most likely this usage came into the West. Although I do not recollect to have met with any thing among the Greeks (which was the usual canal through which the eastern language and customs were communicated to the West) which contains any the least vestige of this practice; but this may be a hint for farther enquiry. There is one thing observable here of the word גבול Gabul, *terminus*, that from hence architects call the walls that form the end of a house, *gabuls*, bounds, in the very eastern word.

BEFORE I leave the word MECOP, it will be necessary to take notice, that the character between the M at the end, and ΕΣOP in the next, is no more than a flower or leaf by way of ornament, most frequently to be met with in Gruter, Fabretti, and others, and sometimes even between every word. Boldonius, in his *Epigraphica* [g], supposes, *ridiculously enough*, that it signified a

[g] Lib. v. cap. 4. memb. 3. p. 607.

heart transfixed with grief, because it hath some resemblance of a heart, but, in fact, it is no more than a flower, or leaf, by way of ornament, or in the place of a point or stop [b].

BESIDES the use of this sepulchral stone as a boundary, it was also monumental, as appears from the next words, ACTTOR XEPN. The usual stile in Greek inscriptions determines these words to be Αἴτιος Χάριν, in memory of Aites. We take him to be the son of the former, or only a comrade of the same troop of the Aiti [i]. It is easy to conceive that workmen unskilled in the language they were cutting, might express XAPIN by XEPN, the first stroke in the N standing also for an I, by way of abbreviation usual in inscriptions, and particularly necessary here, because we see there was no room in the line for the I and N separately.

THE character between the two words ACTTON XAPN, I take to be no other than an effort towards forming the X; but the workman not approving of it, proceeded to make it a new one, and in Fabretti, p. 121, there is a whole line struck out of an inscription.

THE date of this before us seems to be between the years 408 and 455 of the Christian æra; for the Notitia, which was written after the time of Arcadius and Honorius, as appears by the words of the title, *ultra Arcadii et Honorii tempora*, speaks of the Aiti settled *ad lineam valli*, at the time of writing it, which was after 408, the time of the death of Arcadius, and 27 years after, A. D. 435 the Romans quite left Britain; so that this inscription is to be placed between the death of Arcadius, and the final departure of the Romans.

[b] See Fabretti, Inscript. cap. ii. p. 89. edit. Rom. 1699.

[i] Μνημης Χάριν, μνημης Χάριν, φιλοτικνίας Χάριν, Gruter 1127, 28, 29, &c.

[k] And cap. ii. p. 86, n°. 161, where is the same kind of ornament between the letters of the same word, where it makes part of the end of one line, and the beginning of the next; as

— A E O

Ϸ R V M — for *Eorum*.

which is exactly the case in the word MECOP, in this inscription.

XV. *Observations on the same Inscription. By Dr. Adee,
in a letter to the Rev. Dr. Milles.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 16, 1769.

Great Ruffel-Street, March 7, 1769.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE paid attention to the inscription which you submitted to me. I am sorry I cannot assent to the explanations which other learned gentlemen have offered; neither am I well satisfied with my own. Inscriptions in general, Greek ones particularly, are accompanied with great embarrassments, owing to their shortness, the ignorance of carvers, and the inaccuracy of transcribers and publishers. Few copies are fac similes. Though this inscription may be looked on as such, I apprehend nothing can make grammar or sense of it, but reading it in this manner:

ΑΣΤαρΤΗΙ

ΒΩΜοΝΜ

ΕΣΟΡΑον

Τ. ΙοΥΛΙΟΣ Γερμανικος

ΑΝεΘΗΚεΝ.

HERE the three most necessary companions in a votive inscription are expressly declared: the Goddeſs to whom it was dedicated, Αςαρτη, the thing dedicated, Βωμον μεσοραον; and the donor, Τ. Ιουλιος Γερμανικος. It must be observed, that ανεθηκεν always governs a dative case of the person either expressed or understood;

flood; instances of which in inscriptions are innumerable. Hence it must be read ΑΣΤΑΡΤΗΛ.

THERE is an inscription in Reinefius, p. 166, which, in some points is like this, but in one is different: here ἀνεθῆκεν is followed by an accusative.

ΘΕΑΝ ΜΑΓΑΡΣΙΔΑ
Τ. ΙΟΥΑΙΟΣ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΣ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ.

THIS should be looked upon as an inscription on the basis of a statue of Minerva. Though an accusative may be proper under a statue, it would not be so under an altar. The statue expresses both the person and thing. For no one would have occasion to ask who was *the person*, when they saw *the statue* of a known goddess, or what was *the thing* when they see *a statue*.

I am with true respect, Sir,

Your most faithful,

Humble servant,

S. ADEE.

XVI. *Observations on Dr. Percy's account of Minstrels among the Saxons. By Mr. Pegge.*

Read at the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, May 29, 1766.

DR. Percy, in that part of the *Essay on the Ancient English Minstrels*, prefixed to his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, which concerns the state and condition of these people in the Saxon times, previous to the Norman conquest, has given us, in my opinion, a false, or at best, an ill-grounded idea of their rank and condition within that period. This imaginary notion, for such I take it to be, I propose to discuss in the shortest manner I can.

“THE minstrels, says Dr. Percy, seem to have been the genuine successors of the ancient bards, who united the arts of poetry and music, and sung verses to the harp of their own composing. It is well known what respect was shewn to their bards by the Britons; and no less was paid to the northern *scalds* by most of the nations of the Gothic race.” By which it is intimated, that the minstrels among the Saxons were held in great estimation, and privileged with an extraordinary rank and dignity; for he goes on, “Our Saxon ancestors, as well as their brethren, the ancient Danes, had been accustomed to hold men of this profession in the highest reverence. Their skill was considered as something divine, their persons were deemed sacred, their attendance was solicited by kings, and they were every where loaded with honours and rewards.” Dr. Percy even supposes, that when the two professions of poetry and music were separated, after the introduction of Christianity among the Saxons

for

for example, "the minstrels continued a distinct order of men, and "got their livelihood by singing verses to the harp at the houses of "the great. There they were hospitably and respectfully received, and *retained many of the honours shewn to their predecessors, the bards and scalds.*" He says afterward, "in the early "ages, this profession was held *in great reverence among the "Saxon tribes*, as well as among their 'Danish brethren. This "appears from two remarkable facts in history, which shew that "the same arts of music and song were *equally admired among both "nations*, and that the *privileges and honours conferred upon the "professors of them were common to both*; as it is well known their "customs, manners, and even language, were not in these times "very dissimilar."

BUT this last position is justly liable to be controverted; for I am strongly of opinion we cannot reasonably argue from the modes and customs either of the Britons or Danes to those of the Saxons; I mean, in this remote age, before the Danes obtained a settled continuance in this island. The customs of the two former were so different from those of the latter, in various respects, that one is obliged to exclude all that this gentleman advances in respect of the *bards* of the Britons, and the *scalds* of the Danes, as amounting to no evidence in the present case, either before, or after the Saxons became Christians.

But to come to close quarters; there are only two facts adduced, to establish the honour and respectable quality of the minstrels in the Ante-Norman times; and I really believe there are no more, for Dr. Percy is so diligent in his researches, that had there been a third, I am persuaded it would not have escaped him. These facts then must be examined, in order to try what weight they will bear; for should they fail us, all that is urged from similarity of manners and customs passes with me for nothing.

THE

THE first instance is that of king Aelfred, A. D. 878, "When
 " our great king Alfred [they are Dr. Percy's words] was desirous
 " to learn the true situation of the Danish army, which had in-
 " vaded his realm, he assumed the dress and character of a min-
 " strel, and taking his harp, and only one attendant (for in the
 " early times it was not unusual for a minstrel to have a servant to
 " carry his harp) he went with the utmost security into the Danish
 " camp. And though he could not but be known to be a Saxon,
 " the character he assumed procured him a hospitable reception;
 " and he staid among them long enough to contrive that assault,
 " which afterwards destroyed them." The note upon this is,
 " *Fingens se jocularorem, assumpta citbara, &c.* Ingulphi Hist.
 " p. 869.—*Sub specie mimi—ut jocularioriae professor artis,*
 " Malmesb. lib. ii. c. 4. p. 43. One name for a minstrel in old
 " French was *fongleur*."

THIS is a most notable story, and Rapin might justly stile it the boldest resolution that ever entered into the thoughts of a prince. But then it is of a very doubtful authority, for the authors that lived in, and nearest the time, appear to know nothing of it. After Menevensis, the Saxon Chronicle, Fabius Ethelward, and the Annales Astorii, or Chronicon Sti. Neoti, are all totally silent about it, and yet they relate the battle that followed, and the signal victory which Aelfred obtained over the Danes at this time. In short, I cannot find that any author before the Norman conquest ever mentions this particular, not one that lived less than 200 years after the fact, and therefore Mr. Carte is so prudent as to omit it in his history, though credulous enough in other cases.

INGULPHUS speaks of a *lyre* the king employed, but what evidence have we, that the Saxons used that instrument? The Britons, no doubt, had it; but then, as I contend, we cannot argue from the usages of the Britons to those of the Saxons. On the contrary, one would rather imagine, in the present case,
 that

that the Saxons made use of some other instrument. Dr. Percy insinuates, that the person whom king Aelfred took with him on the occasion, was in the character of a servant, to carry his harp, and he refers to p. 57 and 65 of his first volume. But with submission, this is all fancy and imagination; for William of Malmesbury represents Aelfred's companion in the enterprize, as a person of the greatest trust and confidence with him, *unius tantum fidelissimi fruebatur conscientia*. Besides, what reason have we for believing that king Aelfred was so expert in music? Bale, it is true, represents him, amongst his other fine qualities, as excelling in music, but we are not to rely upon Bale. That this great king was possessed of many noble qualities and accomplishments will be most readily acknowledged, for his historian, Asser Menevensis, has not been wanting in displaying them; but then this author does not say a word of his skill in music; and, for my part, I very much question whether king Aelfred could either play or sing, because Asserius, a person so well disposed to note it, gives us not the least

hint of either. Aelfred is said indeed by Sir John Spelman, "to have provided himself of musicians, not common, or such as knew but the practick part, but men skilful in the art itself, whose skill and service yet further improved with his own instruction, and so ordered the manner of their service, as best testified the royalty of the king [a]." I am not apprized of the author from whom Sir John draws this particular [b]; but I am inclined to believe, he has either improved upon him, and has made more of the matter than it will bear, or that it relates solely to the regulation of the service of his choir, and the music of his

[a] Spelman's Life of Aelfred, p. 199.

[b] Some late author, I may venture to say; for there is nothing of it in the older ones. Grimbald, *artis musicae peritissimus*, was an Abbat. Ingulph. p. 27, and Chanter, i. e. *cantator*. Asserius, p. 47. John also was a monk. Spelman, p. 137.

chapel royal. But now, according to the history under examination, king Aelfred must have been very excellent in his performance, both with his voice and on the instrument. These circumstances, added to the silence of the more ancient historians, may amount to a full disproof of the fact.

BUT supposing, for once, the story to be true, and that the king actually made use of this stratagem, one cannot, I doubt, infer so much from it as Dr. Percy does. He concludes from hence, that there was an order of men amongst our ancestors, the Saxons, of great credit and estimation, and of the nature of minstrels, who, if they did not exhibit and perform their own compositions, as the minstrels did in the more ancient times, yet they were still highly valued and respected, and were universally received by the great. But the incident in question, allowing it to be a fact, will not support all this by any means; for there never was an army in the world that was not attended with minstrels of various sorts. It is natural for this sort of men to follow a camp; insomuch that Aelfred, in his disguise, might easily get admittance into the Danish camp, without pretending any extraordinary privilege from the dignity of his profession; certainly he could not assume any character that would more readily introduce him. But Aelfred was a Saxon, and would be immediately known to be such, and therefore all his security lay in the sacredness of the character he had assumed. I answer, he was a Saxon, and would probably be instantly known to be such; but then it should be remembered, that historians tell us, that after the fatal affair of Chippenham, which, in a manner, quite ruined king Aelfred, *pro tempore*, the Saxons, his subjects, submitted, and flocked to the enemy, who had great numbers of them in their quarters [c]. To end this matter in one word, if the king had a mind to reconnoitre the

[c] Rapin, p. 92. Carte, p. 299.

posture of the enemy himself, he could not do it in a safer, or less suspicious manner; wherefore this incident does not at all imply any mark of dignity in the Saxon minstrels, or induce us to believe, that the musicians of the times were in general people of any particular privilege and estimation.

I now proceed to the other instance adduced by Dr. Percy, of which this is his account. "With his harp in his hand [*f*], and "dressed like a minstrel, Anlaf, king of the Danes, went among "the Saxon tents, and taking his stand near the king's pavilion, "began to play, and was immediately admitted. There he entertained Athelstan and his lords with his singing and his music; "and was at length dismissed with an honourable reward; though "his songs must have discovered him to have been a Dane." The note from Malmesbury is, "*assumptâ manu citharâ—professus* "mimum, *qui hujusmodi arte stipem quotidianam mercaretur—* "jussus abire pretium cantûs accepit. Malmesb. lib. ii. c. 6.

THIS narrative is somewhat better founded than the former; for Anlaf was a Dane, and, for ought we know to the contrary, might be possessed of a competent skill in music; he consequently might rationally adopt and invest himself with a character well known to appertain to his country, that of a *scald*; he was withal a person of a very bold and enterprising genius. But all this notwithstanding, I very much question whether this story be not framed upon the former relative to king Aelfred, neither the Saxon chronicle, nor Ethelwerd taking any notice of it; that is, no writer before the the conquest.

BUT admitting the story to be historically true, it will contribute little towards proving and establishing the point Dr. Percy aims at, as Anlaf was not a Saxon, but a Dane. Indeed the presumption is very strong against the existence of any such rank of men amongst the Saxons as Dr. Percy speaks of; for is it not surprising, that in the space of 600 years, that is, from the arrival of Hengist to the Norman conquest, not the least mention should

[*f*] Anlaf has no servant to carry his instrument.

be made of them by any author on any occasion? Nay, I cannot at present recollect that the Saxons here had any name, or word amongst them expressive of the character of a *bard* or *scald* [g]. We hear enough of the Saxon poets and poetry, but nothing is said of their bard-like musicians, though feasts and entertainments are often spoken of, as likewise the courts of their princes. As to any evidence that may be imagined to arise from the passages quoted by Dr. Percy from Ingulphus and William of Malmesbury, these authorities, in my opinion, rather militate against him. What Ingulphus calls *joculator*, William terms *mimus*, as if these two were synonymous expressions; and surely something very different from music must be intended by that phrase in William, *joculatorie professor artis*, for no author whatsoever would ever call a minstrel or musician by such name [h]. But *jongleur*, you will say, comes from *joculator*, and *jongleur*, in old French, is one name for a minstrel. I answer, it comes probably from *jocularius* (see Menage) and signified also a *jugler*, properly so called, as is evident from this word of ours, (which is borrowed from the French) and from Cotgrave.

THE probability seems to be, that if king Aelfred really went into the Danish camp as a spy, he took the character of a mimic, a dancer, a gesticulator, a basteleur, or jack-pudding, who commonly made use of some instrument of music for the purpose of assembling and drawing people about them; hence *jongleur*, by accident, and in process of time, came to denote a minstrel, or ordinary musician. This accounts for the *cithara* mentioned by Ingulphus, whilst the principal part acted by the king was that of a jester or antick. [i]. As to the case of Anlaf, he being a Dane, might, if the story is true, take the semblance of a *scald*; but nothing concerning the practice of the Saxons can be concluded from any adventures or exploits of his.

[g] *Minstrel*, it is presumed, is a French or Spanish word, but should it come from *mýnnyten* (see Junius) it would not come up to the present purpose.

[h] No author that was acquainted with the Latin word *musicus*, as Malmesbury undoubtedly was. See him, p. 48. Ingulphus also, p. 27, has the expression.

[i] Aelfred was of a suitable age for it, being about twenty-nine.





Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

XVII. *An Account of the Monument commonly ascribed to Catigern. By Mr. Colebrooke.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, June 12, 1766.

IN the parish of Addington, near Town Malling, in Kent, about 500 paces to the north east of the church, in a rabbit warren, upon a little eminence, are the remains of several large stones, placed in an oval form. The inside of the area from east to west is 50 paces, the breadth in the middle from north to south 42 paces; at the east end is a flat stone, placed somewhat like that which they call the Altar at Stone Henge: Pl. vi. fig. 1. N°. 1. This stone in the longest part is nine feet, in the broadest seven feet, and near two feet thick. Behind this, a little to the north, is another flat stone, No. 2. which seems to have stood upright, but is now, by some accident thrown down. This is fifteen feet long, seven feet wide, and two feet thick. The stone N°. 3. next the altar on the north side, is seven feet high, seven feet wide, and two feet thick; the top of this hath been broken off. There are but two others which appear above the surface of the ground, (N°. 4 and 5) and these are not more than two feet high. One may easily trace the remains of seventeen of them; though from the distances between the stones, which are pretty nearly equal, there must have been rather more than twenty to complete the oval, which consisted of only one row of stones. The soil hereabout is very sandy, and the rain hath washed the sand so much over many of them, that by their distances from each other, I could only find them when I thrust my cane into the ground. Those of the stones which were fallen down have been carried away by the inhabitants, and applied to mend causeways, or make steps for stiles. The stones are of the

same species with those at Stone Henge, and being placed in the same form, seem as if they were designed for the same use.

I FIRST viewed this monument of antiquity, or temple, in 1754. Since that time the place is so overgrown with broom, fern, &c. that I could trace out very few of the stones, when I was again upon the spot in 1761.

ABOUT 130 paces to the north west of this is another heap of large stones, tumbled inwards one on another. This originally consisted of six stones, (see Pl. vi. fig. 2.) each stone seven feet wide, two feet thick, and by measuring the longest piece with the base, from which it seems to have been broken off, it must have been 19 feet in height. The bases of these are at equal distances, about 3 paces asunder, and in the circuit measure 33 paces; so that the area must have been near 11 paces in diameter. The form is circular, not oval, and the openings are due east and west: this is the same kind of stone as the former. Fig. 3. is the largest fragment, which I measured with the base nearest to it, to ascertain the original height.

I do not find any author who hath taken notice of either of these monuments except Dr. Harris, who, in his History of Kent, p. 23, under the article Addington, says, "in a place in this parish, called the Warren, I saw six or seven stones above the ground, and the old clerk told me, that there formerly stood an oak in the middle of them; if so, they might be only designed for seats."

It is hardly to be supposed, that a stone seven feet high (which is the height of No. 3, fig. 1) could be designed for a seat for people to sit on, and what remained of the others was too low, to give them a view of any diversions that were carrying on under the supposed oak in the centre; nor could I, when I was upon the spot, get a confirmation of this traditional account mentioned by Dr. Harris as coming from the old clerk, though I made all the enquiry.

quity I could, and was assisted by the minister of the parish, the Rev. Mr. Buttonshaw, who first informed me of them, and went with me to some of the oldest people then living in the parish. Dr. Harris doth not seem to have any idea of the true design of these stones, neither doth he mention that which I call the altar, fig. 1. N°. 1. nor the other which is fallen down, and if restored would make part of the oval. The heap of stones broken and tumbled down inwards, though not above 130 yards to the north west, is not taken any notice of by him, and consequently he never saw them; for if he had seen them, he must have been led to think that two such monuments of antiquity, so near each other, could not but have been erected on some extraordinary occasion.

As there are several monuments of this kind in England, Stone Henge on Salisbury plain, Rollrich-stones in Oxfordshire, and many more, as I have been informed, in Anglesea, Cornwall, Wales, Cumberland, &c. which are of that antiquity that our most early historians who have mentioned them speak of them as of things beyond any tradition, and could barely conjecture what their uses were, I hope it will not be unentertaining to this Society, if I give my conjecture about these, as I flatter myself it will clear up a point in history which is at present obscure; I mean the place where Horfa was buried, whose monument, Mr. Philpot says, was like Kits Cot house, but time hath utterly extinguished it.

I THEREFORE join in opinion with the learned Dr. Stukeley, that stones placed in this oval form were the temples of the ancient Britons, that this at Addington was one of those temples, and that the heap of stones fallen down at a little distance from this temple was Catigern's monument, which was more magnificent, and more in the manner of Stone Henge than Kits Cot house is;

and

and it is not likely that a monument composed of stones of such bulk and thickness could be so totally obliterated, as to have no remains of it at this day; when another erected at the same time, and on a like occasion, remains so entire.

MR. LAMBARD, the earliest author who professedly wrote of this county, in his *Perambulation*, edit. 1576, quarto, p. 288 and 289, under the article Chetham, says, "Alfred of Beverly, and Richard of Cicester, have mention of a place in East Kent, where Horfa (the brother of Hengist) was buried and which, even to their time, did continue the memory of his name." He mentions *Horfmundune*, but that lying in the south part of the county, and Horfa being killed at Ailsford, he thinks it more reasonable to affirm that he was buried at Horsted. He says nothing of Catigern, nor of Kits Cot house, which if this monument (ascribed by Stow and Camden to Catigern) had borne that name in his time, he would have mentioned.

Horsted is a farm surrounded by woods, consists of one good farm house and a cottage, between which the road lies (chiefly through woods) from Chetham to Boxley, and is about three miles distant from each.

Being upon a visit at Chetham (in which parish this farm lies) in the year 1763, I was inquisitive to know where Horsted was, as I could not find it in the map of Kent, nor in Spelman's *Villare Anglicum*, and if there were any remains of Horfa's monument in that neighbourhood. My friend, to whose family this farm belongs, carried me thither, and shewed me what was reputed to be Horfa's monument by the people of the country.

ON the side of a hill, in the middle of a wood, is a great quantity of flint stones, which, by length of time, and the dripping of the trees, are overgrown with moss. From the situation they seem to have been shot out of carts, to fill up an hollow or valley, and to have been collected from the neighbouring fields, where the plough constantly

constantly turns up large flints in such quantities as to obstruct its working, and so to have been thrown down here out of the way, the road through the wood being close by the top of these flints. This is said to be the remains of Horfa's monument, and so far believed to be so by the country people, that stones being wanted to repair a road, some of these were ordered to be taken; but in loading a cart with them, one man happening to fall (by treading on the loose stones) and break his leg, they thought it a judgment for removing the sepulchres of the dead, and could not be induced to proceed. This story I heard on the spot. But as these stones are in a wood, and against the side of a hill, it is unlikely to be a funeral monument, which, when they consisted of loose stones, always made a hill of themselves. I have somewhere read (I think in the Irish History) that when an officer died in the field of battle, they buried him in a plain, and every soldier took a large stone, and threw it on the place; by which means a hillock was formed, which must have borne the shape of the barrows we see on the Downs in Dorsetshire, and other counties, where instead of throwing a stone on the place, each soldier might take a shovel-full of the soil of the country, and throw it on the place, in proportion to the dignity of the person there buried, as we see them of very different sizes, and most of them that have been opened are of the neighbouring soil; so that I think these flints could not be Horfa's, nor any other monument.

ALL the authors who have mentioned this battle between Vortimer, (or Guortimer), and Hengist, take their account of it from Bede; for I do not find any thing said of it by Gildas. After mentioning that the Saxons and other German nations were called in by Vortiger to assist him against the Picts and Scots, who (after the Romans had withdrawn themselves, and could no longer assist the Britons) made inroads and great havock in the country, and over whom

whom the Saxons gained a victory, he goes on to give an account of the country they came from, and their genealogy from Woden. His words are [b], "Duces fuisse perhibentur eorum
 " primi duo fratres Hengistus et Horfus; e quibus Horfus postea
 " occisus in bello a Britonibus *hactenus in orientalibus Cantii par-*
 " *tibus monumentum habuit suo nomine insigne.*" The Saxon Chronicle says [c], that A. D. 453, the Saxons were invited by Vortiger to come over to his assistance, as mentioned by Bede, and in the year 453 says, "Hic Hengistus et Horfa pugnabant contra Vortigernum
 " regem, in loco qui dicitur Aeillstreu; occisoque Horfa fratre suo,
 " Hengistus postea cum Efc filio suo regnum capebat." Bede says positively that Horfa was buried in the eastern part of Kent. Robert of Gloucester [d], in his Chronicle, which is in rhyme, mentions the deaths of Horfa and Catigern, but says nothing of their burials or monuments. He says, that Vortimer directed himself to be buried on the sea shore at Stonar (*lapis tituli*) the port where the Saxons (whom he had frequently beaten) used to land; that they, seeing his monument, might be afraid of coming to that land where even his bones were laid. Geoffrey of Monmouth says, he ordered a brazen pillar to be erected for him in this place, but that this was not complied with, for he was buried in Troynovant or London. Humfrey Lluyd says the same, and that it was in imitation of Scipio Africanus, who directed himself to be buried on that sea-shore which looked towards Carthage. Fabian says, that Horfa and Catigern slew each other, but says nothing of the burial of either. William of Malmesbury [e] says Horfa and Kategis were both killed in the first battle Guortimer had with the Saxons, but

[b] *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, fol. Cantabrigiæ, 1644, p. 58.

[c] At the end of the Cambridge edition of Bede, by Abraham Whelock.

[d] Who lived in the reign of Henry III.

[e] *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam*, London 1696, fol. p. 4.

doth not mention the burial of either. Henry of Huntingdon [f] says, that seven years after the arrival of the Saxons in England, there was a battle between them and the Britons, at Acilestruc, in which Horfa killed Catigern, and Guortimer killed Horfa, but makes no mention of the burial of either. Ethelward [g] says, Horfa was killed in *Campo Egelefbrip*, but makes no mention of Vortimer or Catigern. Hollingshead [h] says, that Vortimer's second battle with the Saxons was at a place called *Episford*, or *Aglisfbrop*, in which encounter Catigrine, or Catigernus, the brother of Vortimer, and Horsus, the brother of Hengist, after a long combat, slew each other; but the Britons obtained the field, as saith the British history. John Stow [i] and Verstegan [k] both say, that though the Saxons were beaten in this battle, yet they kept the field, and the Britons retreated; and Ralph Higden [l] says expressly, that Hengist got the victory.

It seems to be agreed by all historians, that this battle was fought near Ailsford, and it is most likely that it was on that plain which spreads itself on the hanging of the hill, and looks down upon Cofenton, in the boundary of Ailesford, there being no other place in that neighbourhood so open, and so fit for such an engagement.

As I find no mention made of a monument erected for Catigern in any of the afore-cited authors, I am induced to think that Mr. Stow was mistaken, when, in his Chronicle, he says, Kits Cottlehouse was corruptedly so called for Catigern's monument; and that this is Horfa's monument, being not far from Horsted farm,

[f] *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam*, fol. London, 1696, p. 176.

[g] *Idem*, p. 475.

[h] *History of England*, by Abraham Fleming, 1586, fol. p. 80.

[i] *Chronicle continued* by Ed. Howes, 1631, fol. p. 52.

[k] *Antiquities*, quarto, 1628, p. 129.

[l] As quoted by Rapin, vol. i. p. 33.

and to the east of the Medway, where Bede says his monument was.

I APPREHEND the name of *Kits* or *Keiths* Coty-house to have been given to this place from some old shepherd, who kept sheep on this plain, and used to shelter himself from the weather on one side or other of this monument; for from whatever quarter a storm came, he might here find shelter.

HAD Mr. Lambard, who was the first writer of the history of this county, known of this under the name of Kits Cot-house, or heard of Catigern's monument, I think he would have mentioned it; but having directed us to look about Horsted for Horfa's monument, there is nothing to be found in this neighbourhood so likely to be it as this.

MR. Camden [*m*] says, "here are *four* vast stones pitched on end, with others lying crossways upon them, much like Stone Henge, corruptly called Keiths or Kits Coty-house for Catigern's monument, who was buried here in great state.

MR. Camden was too judicious an author, and too honest an historian, to have given this description had he ever seen this monument: but it is the unavoidable misfortune of authors who write at large of a country, to take their accounts from others, not being able to survey every thing themselves. The number of stones here pitched is but *three*, and one single stone on the top; neither is the architecture (if I may use that word in so rude a piece of building) like Stone Henge; for in this, the top stone is wider than the two that support it, and hangs over considerably at each end, and on each side; whereas at Stone Henge, the stones are laid in a different way, and the top stones, which are mortised into the uprights, are no wider than two feet (the thickness of the upright) and do not hang over the stones that bear them, but in this

[*m*] *Britannia*, by Gibson, fol. Lond. 1695, p. 193.

the stone is laid flat, and projects on each front, and at each end.

MR. Camden, whose name I can never mention without the greatest deference and respect (as the first who digested our British antiquities, and endeavoured to make us acquainted with our own country, and the curiosities it contained) had he ever seen or heard of the two monuments of antiquity at Addington, might not have been induced to have given Kits Cot-house for a monument to Catigern, who is not mentioned by any elder historian (and I have seen most of the British chronicles) to have had one.

WHETHER Mr. Camden, or Mr. Stow, first ascribed this to Catigern I cannot learn, not having seen the first edition either of Stow's Chronicle, or Camden's Britannia. It is in his quarto edition in Latin, printed in the year 1600 *, and it is in Stow's Chronicle, continued by Howes, and printed in the black letter in the year 1631; and they have been followed by all the authors who have wrote of this country since their time.

JOHN STOW, in his Chronicle, p. 52, says, "he was upon the spot;" and as his description of it, and account of this battle, may contribute to clear up the point aimed at, I shall give it in his own words.

"THE first battle Hengist and Horfe, brothers descended from Woden, fought with Vortimer and his brother Catigern, was in a place called *Aegleſthorpe*, now Aelford in Kent; and notwithstanding that Horfe was slain in this battel, yet Hengist bare away the victory. Bede says, that Horfe was buried in East Kent, where his tomb, or monument, bearing his name, was in his time to be seen; and true it is, that in Kent is a place, to this day called Horſtede, about two miles from Aelford, in the parish of Chetham, where the people of that country say the said Horfe was buried.

* It is in the 2d and 3d editions, 1587 and 1590. R. G.

"THERE was also slain in the same battell at Aeglesthrope, Catigern, brother to Vortimer, whose monument remaineth to this day, on a great plaine heath, in the parish of Aelsford, and is now corruptly called Cits Cotihouse for Catigerns.

"I have myself, in company with divers worshipful and learned gentlemen, beheld it, in anno 1590, and is of four flat stones *, one of them standing upright in the middle of two other inclosing the edge sides of the first, and the fourth laid flat aloft the other three, and is of such height that men may stand on either side the middle stone, in time of storm or tempest, safe from wind and rain, being defended with the breadth of the stones, having one at their backs, one on either side, and the fourth over their heads; and about a coit's cast from this monument, lieth another great stone; † much part thereof in the ground, as fallen down where the same had been affixed [π]."

MR. Philpot [o] says, after Mr. Camden, that Kits Cot-house was Catigern's monument, and gives a print of it, but so utterly unlike the thing, that it is evident he never saw it; for he makes the top stone quite square, and hardly, if at all, projecting over those that support it, and rather supposes what it should have been (according to modern architecture) at the first erecting, not what it was in his time, or is now. He says Horfa was buried at Horsted, near Rochester, with a like monument, but time hath utterly extinguished it.

* See Pl. vii. fig. 1. From *a* to *b* is 6 feet; from *b* to *c* 6 feet; from *c* to *d* 8 feet; from *d* to *e* 7 feet; from *e* to *a* 11 feet; *f* is 6 feet above ground, 8 feet wide and 2 feet thick; *g* is the centre stone, much scaled, 6 feet high, 2 feet 10 inches wide near the top, 5 feet 6 inches in the middle, and 5 feet at the bottom; *g* corresponds with the side *f* in all its dimensions.

† Pl. vii. fig. 2. This single stone lies about 70 paces to the N. W. in the same field. The thickness is half buried; but from its present position, it seems as if it had once stood upright. From *a* to *b* it is 7 feet; from *c* to *d* 11 feet; and in the widest part about 7 feet.

[o] Villare Cantianum p. 48.



Fig. 1.

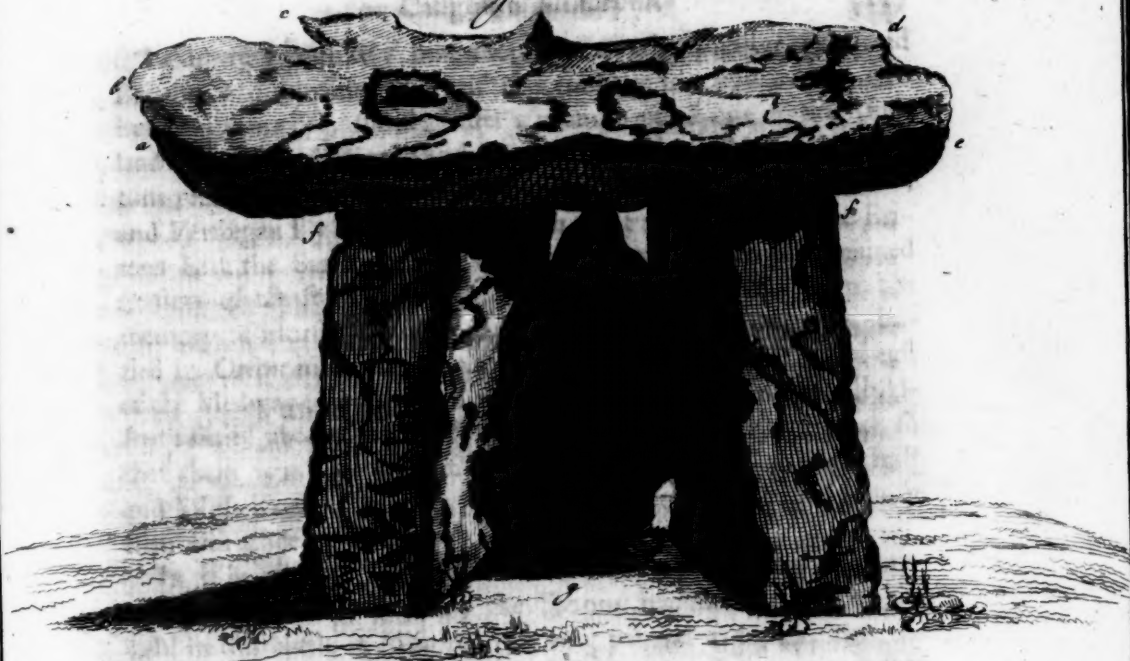
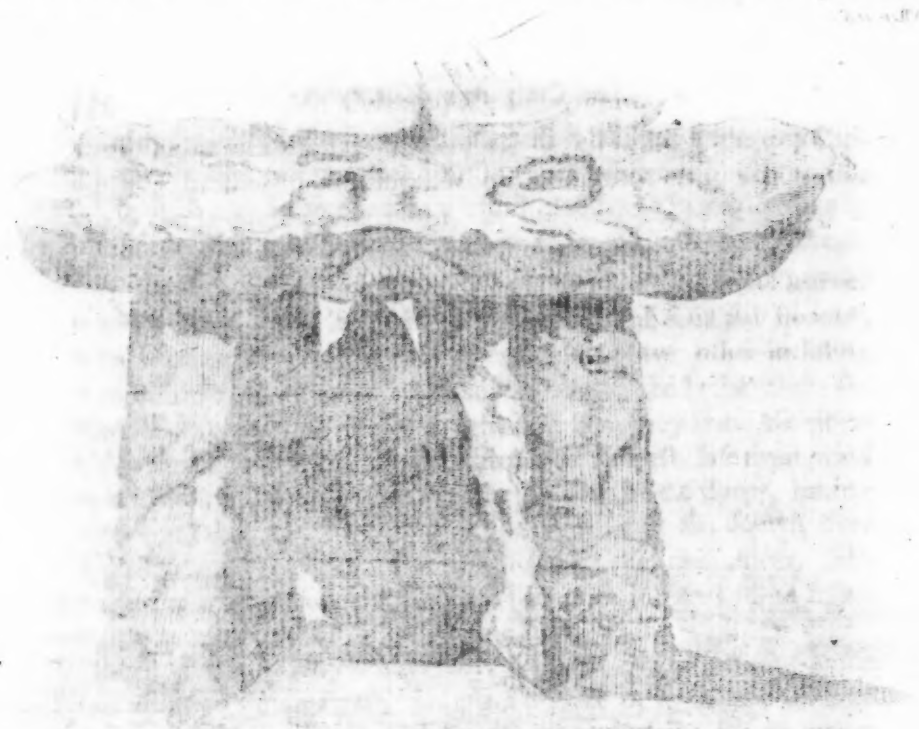


Fig. 2.



Hits Cot-house.



View of the

It is very unlikely that the Saxons, who totally conquered Britain, and remained kings of this country for upwards of five hundred years [p], should suffer a monument of one of their first leaders to be annihilated, and let one erected for a chief of the Britons remain entire. I am apt to think that what R. Higden, Stow, and Verstegan say of this first battle is right; and though the Britons beat the Saxons under Vortimer, yet the Saxons remained masters of the field of battle, and erected this monument to the memory of Horfa; for Bede says positively that Horfa was buried in *Orientalibus Cantii partibus*, by which he must mean east of the Medway; for England was not divided into counties till Alfred's time, about the year 889; whereas Bede died about 734, so that there was 150 years difference, and what is now called East and West Kent is a much more modern division of the county than was made by Alfred.

If it is allowed (which I think, from the authorities before-mentioned, it must be) that the Saxons remained masters of the field in this battle at Ailsford, it is very natural to suppose that the Britons retreated to Addington, where was the temple before described, and though not used by them for religious worship, (they being Christians) yet as a place of strength, and not above eight miles from the place where the battle was fought; and that here they buried Catigern, and set up those six huge stones which are now broken, and fallen in together, as before described; and this conjecture is strengthened by the next battle, which is said to be at *Crecaanford*, now Crayford, in which the Britons were beaten, and forced to retire to London, where Vortimer dying of the poison given him by Rowena, was buried, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth.

[p] The Saxons first came into Britain, Ann. Dom. 447; and reigned here till 1013, when Swayne, the Dane, overcame them, and became king, and imposed the tax called Danegeld; but he was never crowned, reigning but four years; for Canute came to the crown 1017, and established the Danes in this land; but this establishment lasted only 24 years; for in 1041 the Saxon line was restored, and ended with Edward the Confessor in 1066, when the Norman conquest took place.

XVIII. *Observations on Stone Hatchets.* By Bishop
Lyttelton.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 6, 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

THE stone I have now the honour of laying before you for your inspection, was found some years ago, on ploughing some new enclosed pasture ground, near Spurnston, in the parish of St. Cuthbert, Carlisle, in a little hillock, or raised piece of ground, about four yards one way, and three the other, a little above a foot in height, consisting entirely of earth.

IT is undoubtedly what Gesner, Aldrovand, and other early writers on Natural Philosophy, very absurdly name *Ceraunia*, or *Thunder-bolts*, affirming that they fall from the clouds in storms of thunder; and yet Aldrovand asserts that they all resemble either a mallet, a wedge, or an ax or hatchet [a]. The same author [b] gives us engravings of six of them, four of which agree with mine, in having a hole, or perforation for the reception of a wooden helve or handle. And all of them, he says, were found in Germany, chiefly by the sides of rivers, and particularly of the Elbe.

THERE is not the least doubt of these stone instruments having been fabricated in the earliest times, and by barbarous people, before the use of iron or other metals was known; and from the same cause spears and arrows were headed with flint and other hard

[a] Aldrovandi Museum Metall. lib. iv. p. 607, & seq.

[b] Ibid. p. 611.

stones;

stones; abundance of which, especially of the latter, are found in Scotland, where they are, by the vulgar, called *Elfs arrows* (*lamiarum sagittae*) [c], and some few here in England: elegant specimens of which I shewed the Society not long since, which were dug out of a gravel pit in Hertfordshire.

WHEN Mexico was first discovered by the Spaniards, the use of iron was unknown among the inhabitants, and the same ignorance prevailed in some part of the East Indies at the time that Aldrovandus wrote; for in page 158 of his afore-cited work, he gives us the icon of a very elegant stone-ax, reposit in his own Museum, and used, he says, *in sacrificiis Indorum*, but does not specify from what particular part of the Indies it came.

THIS which now lies before you being found in a *tumulus*, inclines me to pronounce it a military weapon, answering to the steel or iron battle-ax in later times; for warlike instruments only, or, at least, for the most part, were interred with the bodies or ashes of men in the early ages of the world.

The most extraordinary discovery of this kind that ever was made in this part of Europe, or perhaps in any other, is recorded in Pere Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expliquée*, which as it greatly illustrates the subject we are now upon, and confirms my conjecture of this stone being a military weapon, of very great antiquity, I beg leave to give you here the substance of. "In the year 1685 Monf. Cocherell, a gentleman living at a place so called in the diocese of Evreux in Normandy, caused to be opened an antient Gaulish sepulchre, situated on his estate there. After removing some very large stones, two human skeletons were found, the skulls of each resting on stone axes or hatchets, one of which was a pyrites, measuring about seven inches long, and one and a half broad, worked to the finest edge, and sharpened at the corners.

[c] Sibbaldi Prodrum. Nat. Hist. Scot. p. ii. lib. iv. cap. 7.

[d] Tom. v. p. ii. p. 194. & seq.

"The other ax was of an oriental stone, called *Giadus*, or a species of the *lapis nephriticus*, about three inches long and two broad, with a hole or perforation on the outside. These bodies rested on a flat stone, which being removed, two others presented themselves with the like stone axes under their heads, exactly resembling the former, as to shape and figure, but of a different kind of stone. These last bodies were accompanied with three urns filled with coals, or, I should rather suppose, with wood burnt to a coal. The workmen proceeding still farther, and extending the pit or cavity to a greater breadth, discovered sixteen or eighteen more bodies, all laid in a regular order, in the same line, with their faces towards the south, and an ax or hatchet under every head. Near the bodies lay three spears, or lances made of bone, and one of them evidently of a horse's shank bone, together with several arrow heads, some made of bone or ivory, and others of stone. Not far distant, though somewhat higher than the last stratum of bodies, was found a vast quantity of half burnt bones intermixed with ashes."

THIS is the purport of Mons. Cocherell's account of the contents of this ancient sepulchre; and Pere Montfaucon's opinion upon it was, that here were interred the bodies of people of different nations, and of the remotest age. The lowest course, or stratum, he supposes, were of a very barbarous race of people, who had not the use of iron or any other metal, and the like of the two uppermost; but from the circumstance of one of their axes being formed out of the *lapis nephriticus*, a species of *precious stone*, as calls it, he infers that these were the bodies of the principal commanders or chiefs. The burnt bones, he supposes, were the remains of Gaulish soldiers, as they had the custom of burning their dead.

ON relating this discovery to different people, Pere Montfaucon was informed, that these kind of stone axes were dug up frequently in
in

in the Netherlands, Picardy, Artois, and other parts of Lower Germany, where Barbarism long prevailed, and the uncivilized inhabitants oftentimes made incursions on their neighbours, and sometimes driving them out, fixed themselves in their seats. On this information he applied to the procurator of Corbie abbey, who sent him two stone axes, found at a great depth in the earth. One was of pyrites, the other of a much softer kind of stone, and for that reason much thicker in its substance than its companion: which circumstance, by the way, accounts for the unusual thickness of the stone ax now under consideration; for it vastly exceeds in substance all those which are deposited in the British Museum, where I lately examined several, which are all thin and elegant in their form, and composed of the hardest stone, as *basaltes*, *flint*, and the like. I could not but observe too, that not one in this repository has any hole or perforation, so that they rather resemble the British instruments of brass, called *Celts*, than battle-axes or hatchets. The two which were sent from Corbie to Montfaucon, are engraven in plate cxxxviii. of his *Antiquité Expliquée*; but that made of the soft stone was very imperfect, when first discovered, so that the edge, or thin end was quite gone.

DOUBTLESS these stone axes have, at different times, been dug up in all parts of this island. We have before observed, from Sir Robert Sibbald, that they are found in Scotland. Dr. Plott, in his *Natural History of Staffordshire* (p. 397), speaking of the flint arrow heads, adds, "either the Britons, Romans, or both, also made them axes of stone, whereof there was one found on the Wever hills, made of a speckled flint, ground to an edge; and I heard of such another that was met with on the Morridge (a hill so called in the Moorlands), which how they might be fastened to a helve, may be seen in the Museum Ashmoleanum at Oxford, where there are several Indian ones of the like kind fitted up in the same manner as when formerly used."

VOL. II.

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That found at Weaver hills is engraven in plate xxxii. of Plott's Staffordshire, and nearly resembles one of those engraved by Montfaucon, and above described.

SIR William Dugdale, in his History of Warwickshire [e], also gives us the icon of one found with several others, in an old fort (as he styles it), containing seven acres of ground, at Oldburg in that county. "They were (says he) about four inches and an half in length, curiously wrought by grinding, or some such way; "one end is shaped like the edge of a pole-ax;" and he thinks, they were weapons used by the Britons before the art of making arms of brass or iron.

I AGREE entirely with Dugdale, that these were British instruments of war, and used by them before they had the art of making arms of brass or iron; but I go farther, and am persuaded that when they fabricated these stone weapons, they had no knowledge at all of these metals; and that must have been at a very early period indeed, as in Julius Caesar's time they had abundance of *scythed* chariots, which probably were introduced here by the Phoenicians some ages before; since the Gauls, who together with the Britons had one common origin, had no use of these chariots.

How low an idea soever some people may entertain of the Ancient Britons, they can hardly be thought so barbarous and ignorant as to have made their battle-axes and spear-heads of stone, and this with great labour and difficulty in the execution, when, at the same time, they were mechanics sufficient to make iron scythes, and had such plenty of iron as to arm their chariots of war with this destructive weapon.

ON the whole, I am of opinion that these stone axes are by far the most ancient remains existing at this day of our British ancestors, and probably coeval with the first inhabitants of this island. As such, I flatter myself this short dissertation, imperfect

[e] P. 778.

as it is, on this curious species of military weapons, will not appear to you quite useless or unentertaining.

I remain, GENTLEMEN,

With great esteem and respect,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

CHARLES Carlisle.

Old Burlington-Street, Dec. 5, 1765.

P. S. SINCE my finishing this letter I have met with a passage relating to these instruments in an anonymous letter from Edinburgh to Mr. Gordon, printed in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, p. 172, which I beg leave to add here.—“ In a cairn in Airshire was found “ an instrument of stone of the flinty kind, resembling a wedge. “ Such are very common in Scotland. They have been considered “ as a sort of arms, which the antients made use of before the use “ of brass and iron. I rather think they were the hatchets which “ the priests in those days used for killing victims. That flinty stones “ were antiently used for killing sacrifices is evident from Livy, “ where, speaking of the Roman *Pater Patratus*, who was sent “ by Tullus to make a league with the Albani, he says, *Porcum saxo* “ *filice percussit*. How these hatchets came to be left at the sepul- “ chres of the dead, will be no difficult matter to account for, if “ we consider the custom of throwing arms and all sorts of things “ into the funeral pile.”

XIX. *Observations on Stone Hammers. By Mr. Pegge.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Nov. 8, 1770.

WE have had two stone instruments lately discovered in this island, which are supposed, and I think with reason, to be British [a], and of a very remote antiquity. They were exhibited at the Society accompanied with learned dissertations by the respective members; the first by the late worthy president, the bishop of Carlisle, and the second by the Rev. Mr. Lort. Another of these instruments has lately fallen into my hands, on which occasion, as there seems to remain some doubt concerning the use of them amongst our ancestors, I shall take the liberty of giving my opinion upon that head, together with the grounds thereof.

THE bishop, in his paper, conjectures they were military weapons [b], and adduces a notable passage from Pere Montfaucon concerning some axes or hatchets of stone discovered in a sepulchre in Normandy, A. D. 1685 [c]. But this learned man has not interposed his opinion whether they were warlike instruments or not; and indeed they are so totally different from the stones which are the subject of the bishop's enquiry, that they contribute nothing to their illustration. They are sharp and thin, and made, one of them at least, of a precious stone, so that they have no resemblance to the rude perforated blocks we are here speaking of. The

[a] Mr. Hearne, however, in Leland's Itin. iv. p. vi. esteems them Danish.

[b] Mr. Hearne is of the same opinion, l. c.

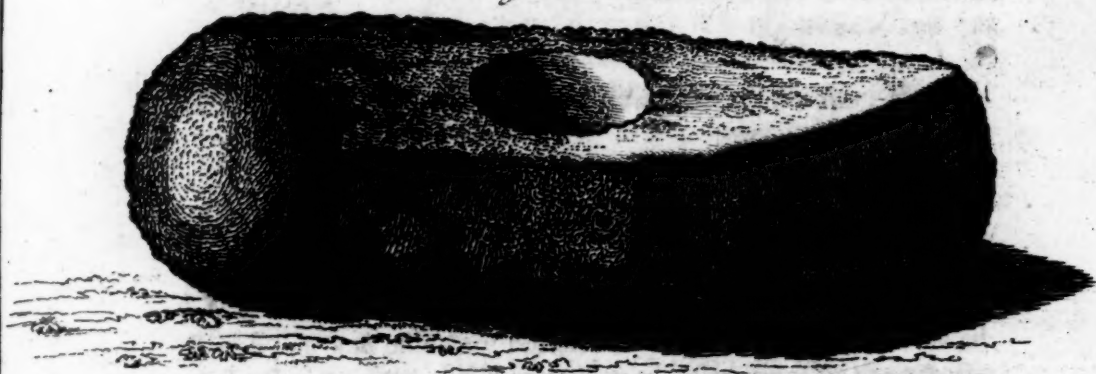
[c] Montfaucon's Antiq. vol. V. p. 132, Engl. edit.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



Fig. 1.



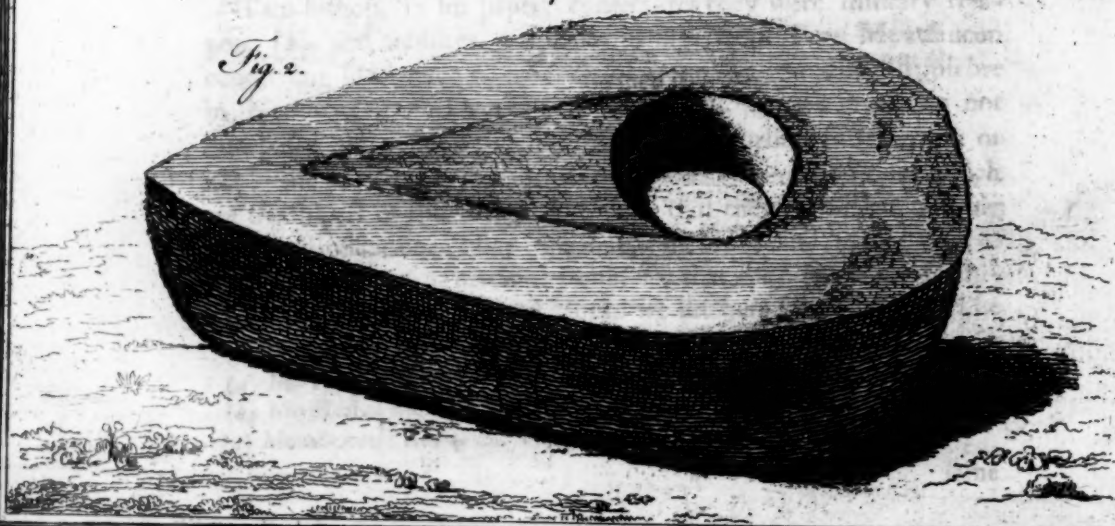
A Stone Hatchet found near Carlisle.

Barnes.

A Stone Hatchet found in Westmoreland.

p. 125.

Fig. 2.



same may be said of the stones his lordship cites from Dr. Plott [d], and Sir William Dugdale [e], as likewise those found in Belgic Gaul, and mentioned by Montfaucon, in the passage above quoted. The bishop, however, who was too just and candid to conceal any thing, reports in a postscript the opinion of a correspondent of Mr. Gordon [f], who esteems them to be implements used in sacrifices for the killing of victims. This opinion stands there uncontradicted; whence it should seem that his lordship, after all, leaves us in suspense as to the true use and application of them.

MR. PROFESSOR LORT [g], without declaring his sentiments, is content with observing, that the Edda makes frequent mention of the *Malleus* of the god Thor, which is particularly celebrated as fatal not only to enemies, but to giants and demons, which seems to imply our instruments were of the nature of Thor's *Malleus*, and might be employed in war. This golden *Malleus* of Thor, of which see Wormius, Mon. Dan. p. 13, appears plainly in the type of Mr. Thoresby's famous coin, given by Sir Andrew Fountaine, and pronounced to be the best of all the numerous representations

[d] Staffordshire, plate xxxiii.

[e] Warwickshire, p. 778.

[f] Gordon's Itin. Septentr. p. 172.

[g] Mr. Lort's opinion, as here stated, accompanied the stone inserted in plate viii. (fig. 2.) found 6 feet below the surface, in a turf moss, about 2 miles from Havertham, in Westmoreland. Large trees have been discovered lying nearly parallel to each other, above and under the surface of the same moss. The stone is of a close grit, 11 inches long, 3 inches thick, and 4 inches and a half broad, with a hole in the middle. Mr. Lort observes an instrument somewhat resembling this in the Museum Danicum, described as "*Malleus lapideus nigricante con-* flans minera filicea, quæ ferme lapidem Lydium refert, figura cuneum acutum, 10 pollices longus." The author of this description doubts whether the stone be natural or artificial. The same book mentions an urn found in Holfatia, 1686, containing ashes, bones, a flint spear head, and a stone like a hatchet. Mr. Lort then cites the *malleus* of Thor, and concludes with supposing these instruments made before the use of iron was known, as among the Indians.

of that piece [b], in his *Dissertatio Epistolaris ad Comit. Pembroch.* in Dr. Hickes's *Thesaurus*. However, it has more the figure of a ball than a hammer; and good Antiquaries, Nic. Koeder, and Sir Andrew Fountaine, even doubt whether the effigies on the coin may not belong to our Saviour rather than the northern deity *Thor*; therefore nothing decisive, as to the use of these instruments, can be collected from Mr. Lort's memoir.

For the resolution then of our doubts on this subject, I beg leave to observe, first, that by the strictest inquiry I can make, I do not find that either Britons or Gauls made use of any such weapon in war as these heavy stones, perforated for the purpose of receiving handles or staves; and yet, surely, as so many of their warlike instruments are mentioned, and some of them described, by ancient authors, a weapon of such a singular and extraordinary nature as this, could never have passed so generally unnoticed. This is indeed but a negative kind of argument, and therefore I proceed,

SECONDLY, to note *a priori*, that the instrument under consideration is absolutely unfit for the purpose of war. These stones, as appears from the specimens produced, are of different sizes. The bishop's was 8 inches long; mine is 9 inches long, 4 broad, and 2.1-half thick, and 11 inches long. They are consequently of different weights; the weights of the other two were not known; mine weighed 5 lb. 1-4th, and as Mr. Lort's was so much larger, it could scarce weigh less than 7 lb. Now it is not likely an instrument so massive and ponderous should ever be used as a missile weapon; neither doth the form of it accord, with that intention, since it is more in the figure of an hammer, as Mr. Lort very properly calls it; besides, the hole intended for the reception of an helve, plainly shews it could not be designed for that service, but must be of the nature of a great hammer, or sledge, which, when accommodated with its helve, it would very much resemble. Supposing

[b] Thoresby's Museum, p. 339.

it then to have been a military weapon, it could have been no otherwise used than as a battle-ax, and yet this we think as improbable as the former supposition of its being a missile; for admitting the shaft to have been but 3 or 4 feet long, such a piece of offensive armour would have been too ponderous to be wielded with any degree of dexterity; after a miss-blow (and a blow from a weapon so heavy to raise would be easily avoided) the head must be supposed to come to the ground, and the striker would scarce be able to recover it at arm's length, for a repetition of his stroke, and in the mean time must consequently stand very open to his antagonist, and be greatly exposed to a stab, or any other dangerous assault.

THE conclusion then must be, that these perforated stones were not originally applied to any warlike purpose, but rather to some domestic service, either as a hammer, or beetle, for common use, or, as Mr. Gordon's correspondent, Aldrovandus, and others have thought, for the slaying of larger beasts in sacrifice. And if any of them are found in or near sepulchres, this would be no objection with me to the above determination; since it was so customary with the ancient Barbarians to inter valuable household utensils, as well as arms, along with the deceased [i]. And I presume, that as these hammers, rude as they are, must have been wrought with vast labour, when the use of iron and other metal was not known, they must have been moveables of great estimation in those days, perhaps as valuable and important as any the owner had.

THESE stones are perforated, and the hole is very nearly at the centre of gravity. Now this circumstance of perforation, which determines them to be of the nature of a hammer, or beetle, distin-

[i] I take the stone axes in Montfaucon, which occur with urns, &c. and even with military weapons, to have been implements of domestic use nevertheless. And the two cited by Mr. Lort from the *Museum Danicum* to have been for the same purpose.

guishes them not only from all those stones mentioned by Montfaucon, but also from those cited by Mr. Lort from the *Museum Danicum*, which seem to be rather chissels or axes, than hammers. And I lay much upon this observation, because I look upon it to be a capital mistake in deciding on the use of these stones, to confound different utensils one with another, which yet, as appears from this memoir, writers have been too apt to do. Wherefore I observe for a conclusion, that the only stone which resembles ours, so far as has occurred to me from my books, and that was certainly used the same way, is that in Montfaucon, vol. V. plate xxxvi. N°. 8. only it is shorter, and consequently more obtuse; for as to that in Mr. Thoresby's *Ducatus Leod.* p. 565, and in his plate N°. 29, descanted upon both by him there, and by Mr. Hearne [k], it is sharp at both ends, and the perforation is on the side, which causes it to fall rather under the denomination of an ax than a hammer.

[k] Hearne in Leland's *Itin.* vol. IV. p. vi. et seq.

XX. *Observations on an Inscription in the Church of Sunning-Hill, Berks. By Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, and President of the Society.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Feb. 25, 1768.

THE parish church of Sunning-Hill in Berkshire, is a specimen, both in its form and size, of the earlier parochial churches which were built in this kingdom, consisting only of a nave, and a small chancel, divided by a square belfry tower.

ON the impost moulding of one of the arches of this tower, is carved the following inscription :

XI·K^{LE}: ÆRTCI: OB⁹: LIVING⁹: PRESBI⁴

which I read thus, *Undecimo Kalendarum Martii obiit Livingus Presbiter.*

THE name of the priest, the style of the inscription, the form and abbreviation of the letters, and the place where it is cut, seem to indicate great antiquity.

IT is well known to those who are conversant with our antient records, that Livingus occurs frequently in them as a Saxon proper name. The last bishop of Devonshire, before the removal of the episcopal see from Crediton to Exeter, was called by this name. He held the see of Worcester at the same time, and died in the reign of Edward the Confessor [a].

[a] See Godwin de Praefulibus, p. 399, ed. Richardson.

THESE Saxon names growing into disuse after the conquest and being succeeded by those of the Normans, make it probable, that this priest lived not long after that period.

THE style and situation of the inscription shew it to have been rather commemorative than sepulchral. It is not impossible that the body of Livingus might have been interred under the belfry, at that time perhaps the entrance to the church, which might originally have consisted only of the chancel and tower; parochial churches being at that early period very small, and the dead being more generally buried in the porch, or before the entrance, than within the church.

THIS inscription, however, which points out the day of Livingus's death, without taking notice of the year, seems rather intended as a memorial to his successors and parishioners of the day on which his death was to be celebrated, or a mass to be said for his soul, either on account of his sanctity, or for some legacy, benefaction, or sum of money given for that purpose. It is indeed precisely the stile in which all the entries are made in the Roman calendars for the celebration of the deaths of their saints, founders, and benefactors.

THE simplicity and conciseness of the inscription is another proof of its antiquity, and so is the use of the Roman numerals, and the form of the letters, which are Roman capitals, except the *M* in Martii, and the *L* in Presbiter, which are Saxon letters.

I MUST observe likewise that the inscription is perfect, and fills almost two sides of the impost moulding. It appears also to have been cut subsequent to the building of the tower; the distances between the words being unequal, on account of some cavities and imperfections in the stone, which rendered it unfit for the inscription.

XXI. *Description of an antient Font at Bridekirk, in Cumberland. By Bishop Lyttelton.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Dec. 3, 1767.

Clifford-Street, Dec. 3, 1767.

GENTLEMEN,

THE drawings I now submit to your inspection, represent the different sides of the famous square font, or baptistery, at Bridekirk, in Cumberland, together with the Runic inscription on the south side of it.

CAMDEN, speaking of a Roman station, now called *Pap Castle*, in the western part of this county, informs us, "that here was found a large open vessel of greenish stone, with little images curiously engraven upon it, which whether it was an ewer to wash in, or a font, to which use it was then employed at Bridekirk, hard by, he could not say [a]."

WHAT authority Camden had for asserting that it was found at Pap Castle does, not appear; and indeed I much doubt the fact; for there is not the least tradition, nor are there any signs of there ever having been a church or chapel at Pap Castle; but there are evident marks, by the sculpture which appears on this vessel, not to mention the inscription, that it was a font *ab origine*; for, as the annotator on Camden justly observes, "the figures are no other than the pictures of St. John the Baptist, and our Saviour baptized by him in the river Jordan, the descent of the Holy Ghost in the shape of a dove being also very plain [a]."

DR. Nicolson, my very learned predecessor, has, in a long letter to Sir William Dugdale, printed in Bishop Gibson's edition of the *Britannia* [a], explained the inscription, which he thus reads.

[a] Gibson's edit. of the *Britannia*, vol. II. p. 1007, & seq.

Er Ekard men egroeten, and to dis men red wer Taner men brogten.

HERE Ekard was converted, and to this man's example were the Danes brought.

IN his remarks also upon the characters in which it is written, he observes, "that though the chief part of them are Runic, yet "some are purely Saxon; and the language of the whole seems a "mixture of the Danish and Saxon tongues, the natural effect of "the two nations being jumbled together in this part of the "world." On the whole, he concludes, that the inscription is Danish.

Now, though I entirely agree with him in this point, I strongly suspect, that the font is of higher antiquity, and that the inscription was added on a memorable event, about the beginning of the eleventh century, under the Danish government.

THE inscription informs us, that here Ekard (probably a Danish general, as Bishop Nicolson, on good grounds, supposes) received baptism on his conversion to Christianity, an example then followed by several of his countrymen at this place. It is not likely that the font was made on that particular occasion, for every mother-church had a font on its first erection; but it is very likely that the baptism of so considerable a person, accompanied by that of several of his followers, should be recorded by an inscription on the font at which they received their baptism.

I remain, GENTLEMEN,

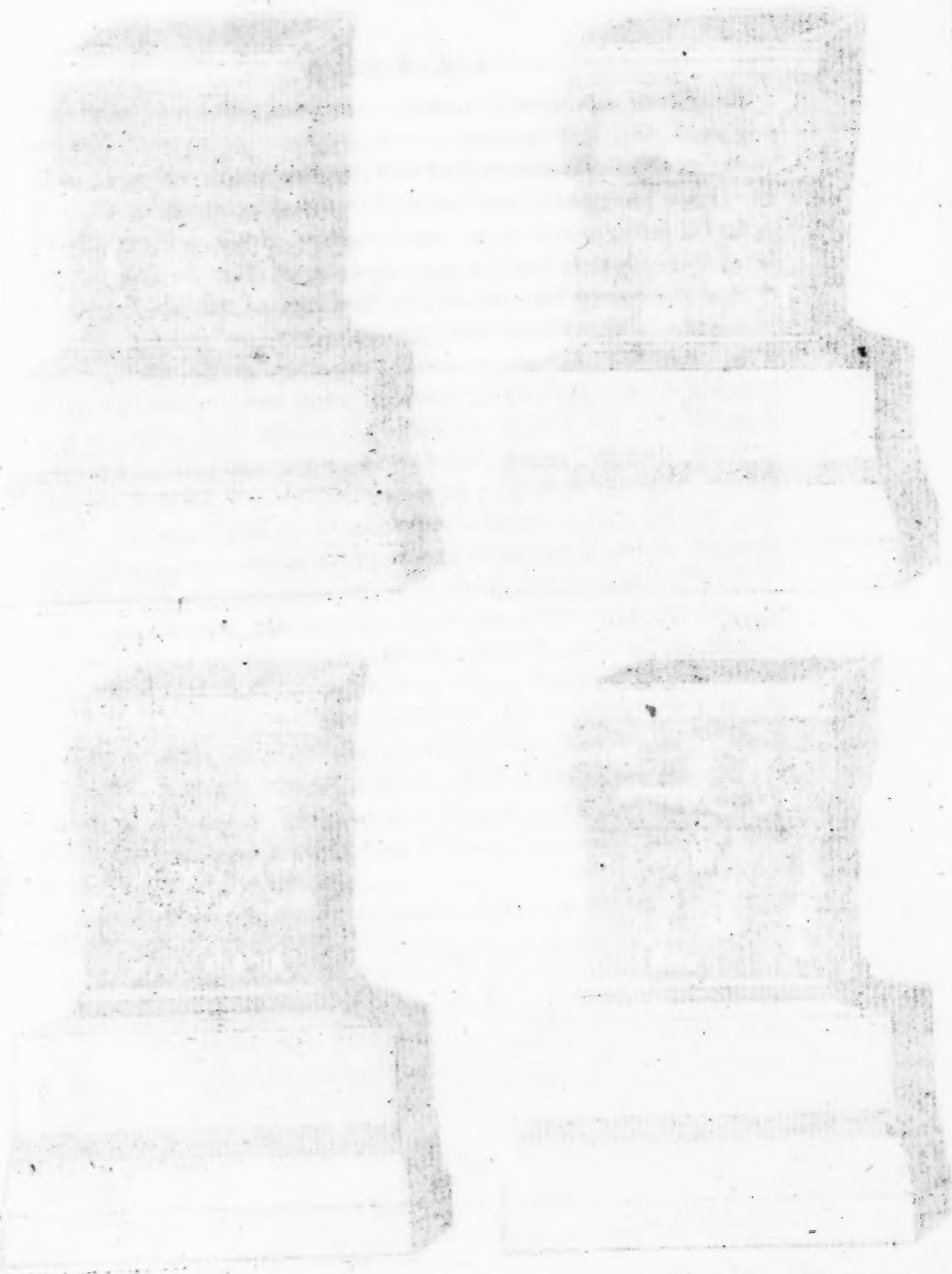
With great regard,

Your most obedient,

humble servant,

CHARLES Carlisle.

SINCE



SINCE my writing the above, I learn that there is a description of this antient font inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine for the month of May, 1749, by an anonymous correspondent, who endeavours to explain all the sculpture, but with what success I will not determine.

*Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Mr. John Bell, Vicar of
Bridekirk, who communicated the annexed Draughts of this Font.
Dated Dec. 11, 1767.*

“THE drawings of the south and north sides * of this font were made this year by one Ainsley, apprentice to Mr. Jefferies; the other two sides * by Mr. Elliot, employed by Jefferies to survey the county. The figures on the east side are probably enough supposed to represent the baptism of Christ, who stands in a kind of font or vase, with a nimbus almost defaced, round his head, and over him a dove, whose head is also imperfect. On the north side is a relief of the angel, driving Adam and Eve out of Paradise; Eve, clinging round the tree, shews an unwillingness to depart. The west side, contrary to the assertion of the magazine writer, who is supposed to have been one Mr. Smith, of Wigton, is the most complete.”

* Plates IX. and X. The characters in which the inscription is contained are here transcribed from the accurate copy of them in the edition of the Britannia abovementioned.

XXII. *Observations on Caesar's Invasion of Britain, and more particularly his Passage across the Thames. By the Hon. Daines Barrington. In two Letters, addressed to the late Bishop of Carlisle.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Feb. 18, 1768.

MY LORD,

HAVING lately had occasion to trouble you with remarks [a] concerning the antiquity of most of the Welsh castles, some of which have been supposed to be the works of the Romans, it naturally occasioned my looking into such ancient writers as have given any account of what passed in this country, from the first invasion by Julius Caesar, to the time it was totally abandoned by the Roman legions.

THE Commentaries of Caesar claim our most immediate attention in this collection of historians, as he was an eye-witness of what he describes; I shall therefore take the liberty of making some observations upon his own account chiefly, of his two expeditions against this island: from part of which I shall submit to your Lordship some few conjectures, which relate to British antiquities. There seems to have never been a worse planned or conducted enterprize than each of these invasions.

UNDER pretence that the Britons sometimes sent assistance to the Gauls, Caesar determined upon this measure without consulting the senate, chiefly for the empty glory of carrying his conquests into a country which could answer no other purposes

[a] Printed in vol. I. p. 278 & seq.

than

than those of curiosity and vanity ; the Romans, therefore, in the time of Honorius, very prudently abandoned their expensive and unnecessary acquisition.

SUETONIUS[b] is so puzzled to find out motives for Caesar's throwing away two campaigns in this idle attempt, that he ascribes it to his having been a virtuoso, and collector of precious stones, of which he expected to find a great profusion on the British coast, particularly of pearls.

HE was undoubtedly a most extraordinary man, both for civil and military abilities; but I shall hereafter have occasion to mention some absurdities, which his most egregious vanity led him into, whilst he commanded the Roman armies.

CAESAR informs us, that he undertook his first expedition at the end of the summer; and that his force consisted of two legions (or upwards of 8000 men) which were transported in eighty vessels; besides this, he embarked some cavalry in eighteen ships, which were dispersed by a storm, and never landed in Britain.

THE natives not only opposed him with some success on his first landing the troops, but afterwards absolutely out-general'd him; for they determined never to meet his army in the field, but to oblige him to return to Gaul for want of provisions, which he had not taken the common precautions of supplying himself with from the continent.

THIS they accordingly effected; Caesar seems to have hardly stirred from the first place of his debarkation; and he went back to Gaul, without any other fruit of a very expensive expedition, but that of a few British hostages, which they had undertaken to give him before his invasion, though he would not then listen to any such proposal.

[b] Jul. Caes. c. 47. The same writer charges Caesar with every kind of rapine and extortion, both in Gaul and Lusitania.

AFTER

AFTER being thus baffled, he prepared the ensuing winter for a more formidable attack; and his army now consisted of no less than five legions, with a proportionable number of cavalry, against undisciplined Barbarians, who he knew, however, (from former experience) had too much prudence to put the fate of their island upon a decisive battle against such a force of veteran troops.

THE fleet for transporting his troops consisted of 800 vessels.

AGAINST this vast armament the only measure taken by the Britons, beyond adhering to the mode of defence so successfully used the preceding year, was that of constituting Cassibelan commander of their combined forces.

CAESAR wanted to bring on a general engagement, and therefore entered Cassibelan's territories, the situation of which he describes in the following words: "*cujus fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit quod appellatur Tamefis, a mare circiter millia passuum LXXX.*"

I MUST own that I cannot conceive the river hereby alluded to is the Thames, as hath been generally supposed.

THIS river is known to run west and east: how then could it divide Cassibelan's kingdom from the states or clans *on the sea coast*, which lies north and south?

I FEAR I must repeat this objection, to make it the more intelligible; the states on the sea shore might be divided by a river running in such a direction; but Cassibelan's territory could not be divided from the sea coast, by a river with such a course [c].

IN short, I should suppose, that Cassibelan's kingdom lay on the upper parts of the Medway; and not in Essex, Middlesex, or Hertfordshire; as the words (if accurately attended to) will not bear any other construction.

[c] Caesar's Geography hath been charged with inaccuracies in what relates to his conquests in Germany. See Goldastus's *Philological Letters*, printed at Leipzig, 1674, Epist. 53.

As

As the Medway empties itself into the Thames, it might very possibly go at this time by the same name [*d*], especially as Bullet informs us, that the Celtic word *Tam* [*e*] imports a river in the Gaulish language, and that *ys* signifies crooked, or winding; such name was therefore applicable to almost every river. I should rather conceive indeed (if I may be indulged in such a conjecture) that the Thames, at the time of this invasion, was called by the British word *Avon*, or *River*. It might be so stiled κατ' ἐξοχην, as we even now, speaking of the Thames, generally say *the River*.

If the Medway might be supposed to have been called the *Tamessis*, this will, at the same time, solve most of the difficulties with regard to the part of the Thames, in which Caesar's army afterwards forded to attack Cassibelan's, which all antiquaries have been obliged to rack their invention to form conjectures about.

As I have here happened to touch upon the passage of the Thames by the Roman army, it puts me in mind of the instance of Caesar's ill-grounded vanity which I have before alluded to. He is known to have been excessively minute in the description of a bridge, which he built over the Rhine; and the reasons which he gives for the delay, that it occasioned to the progress of his arms, are the following; "Caesar his de causis Rhenum transire decreverat; sed navibus transire neque satis tutum esse arbitrabatur, neque suae, neque Populi Romani dignitatis esse statuebat."

[*d*] Thus Dr. Cay supposes that the Usk, in the ninth century, was called the Severn; because it empties itself into that river, "Anno enim Domini 896 (ut Roffensis Historia refert) Pagani noctu recedentes per provinciam Merciorum non cessabant, donec ad villam super *Sabrinam* quae Cantabrigge vocatur pervenerunt; per *Sabrinam*, *Uscam* intelligens, quod notior fluvius ille, in quem se Uscā recipit." De Antiq. Cantab. p. 215. London 1568, 12°.

[*e*] See Bullet, in the article *Tam*, Vol. III. Befancon, 1760, Folio, and Vol. I. p. 342.

[*f*] De Bello Gallico, lib. iv. c. 17.

IF a Prussian general was in his dispatches to give no better reason for the building a bridge than the two last of these, I should imagine he would not continue long to have the command of an army.

BUT to return from this digression.—Cassibela shewed himself worthy of the great trust reposed in him: he determined never to meet the Romans in the field, but to distress them in their foraging parties, and to protract the war. This obliged Caesar to attack him in his head quarters; but I shall use Caesar's own words for an inference which seems clearly deducible from them. "*Cog- noscit non longè ex eo loco oppidum Cassibelauni abesse: oppidum autem Britanni vocant quum sylvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierunt, quo incurfionis vitandae causâ convenire consueverunt* [*g*]."

AFTER this very particular description of a British *oppidum*, or fortification, why should the camps dispersed all over England, and often at vast distances from the stations of Roman legions, be supposed, generally, to be their works, or those of the Danes [*b*]?

FROM this strong-hold Caesar drove Cassibela and his army, which was too small for the Roman general to mention the supposed numbers of; as the victory, (or rather Cassibela's abandoning his camp) would then have redounded so little to the honour of the conqueror.

[*g*] It is a very extraordinary translation which Mr. Carte hath made of this passage, "So the Britains call a thick grove with a lawn in the middle of it, surrounded with a ditch and rampart to secure it from the sudden incurfions of an enemy." Carte, Vol. I. p. 94. I cannot but think this antiquary inserted *the lawn in the middle*, to favour some conjectures he had made about Roman and British camps.

[*b*] I must here beg leave also to mention a passage in Dio Cassius, which shews many of the *smaller barrows* to have been raised by the Britons for the purpose of Generals haranguing their armies.

"Βενθμικα (the famous British queen) ανεβη επι βημα εκ γης ελωδης, εις τον Ρωμαικον τροπον ποιοιημενον." L. 62. sub principio.

IMME-

IMMEDIATELY after this, Caesar returned to Gaul, with no other tokens of triumph, than a few hostages, and a tribute, which was too inconsiderable to state the amount of. This small tribute (if ever paid) I should suppose was raised from what is now the county of Kent; as Caesar does not seem to have penetrated much further into the country. Tacitus therefore says, "*Divus Julius Britanniam posteris ostendit tantum; non tradidit.*"

I THINK it very clear from this account, every circumstance of which is taken from Caesar's own Commentaries, that never was so considerable a force, under so consummate a general, employed for nearly two successive campaigns, to so little purpose; not to forget the numerous and expensive fleet of transports.

AND here we must observe likewise, that Caesar was guilty of the greatest imprudence and neglect, with regard to this attendant fleet; upon which though the very existence of his army depended, yet he seems not to have procured any admiral, or other officer, who was the least acquainted with the navigation of a short but formidable passage to the Romans. From this ignorance, a spring tide (which they had never before experienced) was very near destroying all the transports that had been drawn on shore.

IF it is thought too presumptuous in one who is not the least acquainted with military operations, to criticise the conduct of so great a general, let it be remembered, that his own countrymen were much more severe in their censures on these ill-concerted expeditions against this island, as is well known by that often-cited line.

"*Territa quaesitis ostendit terga Britannis.*"

Besides this, the greatest generals (one of which Caesar confessedly was) do not always act with equal prudence and abilities; if they did, Alexander would not be the only conqueror, who would want another world for the further progress of his arms.

CAESAR is known to have made himself master of perhaps near a fourth part of the globe: may it not therefore be esteemed rather providential, that he should throw away one or two campaigns, when he was embarked in a most unjust enterprize, against the inhabitants of an island, who seem to have been invaded merely, because they were situated more to the Westward, than the Roman arms had before penetrated?

BUT, my Lord, it now becomes high time to close these remarks: my only apology for which must be, that every circumstance relative to the first conquest of this island, is naturally so interesting to an Englishman, especially when it will appear, that a more effectual resistance was made to the Roman arms by our ancestors in a state of simplicity and barbarism, than these ambitious conquerors had experienced in any other part of the globe.

I am,

Your Lordship's

Most faithful

Humble servant,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

Remarks

*Remarks on Caesar's supposed Passage of the Thames.
By the Hon. Daines Barrington.*

Read at the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, NOV. 24, 1768, and Jan. 19, 1769.

MY LORD,

HAVING lately troubled your Lordship with a letter relative to some circumstances in the two invasions of this island by Julius Caesar, I ventured, amongst some other observations on British antiquities, to suppose that Caesar's army never forded the river now called the Thames.

I HOPE now to send your Lordship some additional proofs of this conjecture; and, amongst others, it is very remarkable, that though Caesar twice mentions this river, he only speaks of it as "flumen quod vocatur Thamefis." Is it not extraordinary that he should not dwell longer on this most capital river, which, besides many other circumstances, could not but engage the curiosity and attention of a Roman from its tide, which is not experienced in any river that empties itself into the Mediterranean sea?

As this conjecture, however, seems to contradict Caesar's own appellation, and as the contrary is supposed both by Camden and Bishop Kennet (two of the greatest antiquaries, perhaps, that ever existed), it may be thought necessary that I should support what I have ventured to advance by every possible argument against the weight of two such deservedly great authorities.

I MUST

I MUST own, that I recollected, when I risked this observation, it was in opposition to both these antiquaries; but as it should seem that the point in controversy must be decided by a few lines in Caesar's Commentaries, I was determined to read and judge for myself from that only authority to which recourse should be had on this occasion.

HAVING made my own inferences, therefore, from these passages, I afterwards perused with great attention what both Camden and Kennet have urged with regard to the place in which Caesar is first supposed to have crossed the Thames; and shall give a fair state of both their arguments.

As I am convinced that both these antiquaries are mistaken in what they have advanced; so, I think, I can perceive what was the occasion of their errors.

CAMDEN was struck with the name of *Coway Stakes*, near Oatlands, in Surrey, merely because Caesar mentions that the Britons made use of *stakes* to oppose his fording the Thames.

Now the preliminary objection to this having been the place where Caesar's army met with this obstruction, is, that if by tradition this was the ford where they passed, it must have been so called by a British name.

I CANNOT pretend to say what a stake might be called in that language, any further than by the Welsh terms which Dr. Davis gives us in his Welsh and Latin Dictionary, in which he renders *palus* (or a stake) *pawl*, *clodren*, *buddel*, and *dist*, none of which synonyms have the least affinity to the word *stake*.

ON the other hand, upon looking into Benson's Vocabulary, I find the word *στᾱκα*, which is rendered *stipites*, so that the name must have been imposed many centuries after Caesar's invasion: now if the Britons valued themselves upon the opposition made at this ford by means of the stakes, must they not have perpetuated it to posterity by a name taken from their own language?

BUT

BUT I must now give CAESAR's own words, with regard both to the stakes, and the circumstances attending the river's being forded by his army, as it will be necessary so often to have recourse to them.

"Caesar cognito consilio eorum, ad flumen Thamefis in fines Cassibelani exercitum duxit, quod flumen uno omnino loco pedibus, atque hoc aegre transiri potest. Eò cum venisset, magnas animadvertit esse copias hostium. Ripa autem erat acutis fudibus praefixis munita, ejusdemque generis sub aquâ defixae fudes flumine tegebantur. His rebus cognitis a perfugis captivisque, Caesar praemisso equitatu confertim legiones subsequi jussit. Sed eâ celeritate atque impetu milites ierunt (*quum capite solo ex aquâ exstarent*) ut hostes impetum legionum atque equitum sustinere non possent, ripasque dimitterent, ac se fugae mandarent [a]."

CAMDEN, having stated what relates to the stakes in this passage, endeavours to support his conjecture by the authority of Bede, who mentions, "that the footsteps of the stakes are seen to this day; and it appears upon the view, that each of them is as thick as a man's thigh, and that, being folded with lead [b], they stuck in the bottom of the river."

I FIND this translation by Camden is from the first book of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, which is rather an inaccurate abridge-

[a] De Bello Gallico, lib. v. c. 18.

[b] Ponticus Virunnius hath not only covered these stakes with lead, but made them to consist of iron and not wood; so apt are writers to add circumstance to circumstance, when once they get beyond the original and only authority. He also describes Caesar's advancing towards Cassibelan with his fleet, without any attempt to ford the Thames. See Pont. Brit. Hist. lib. iv. sub princip.

The Saxon Chronicle likewise (in the first chapter) takes notice of the Britons driving large and sharp stakes into the Thames, to prevent Caesar's passing that river, and that they actually prevented it by this obstruction. This is another proof how much all writers deviate from the truth of facts, when they do not speak from authentic materials. þa ƿ onfunden þa Romani, þa noldon hi ƿapon of ƿone ƿonð.

ment of Caesar's own account, besides that he takes the liberty to mention the stakes being covered with lead, of which there is not the least trace or allusion in the Commentaries.

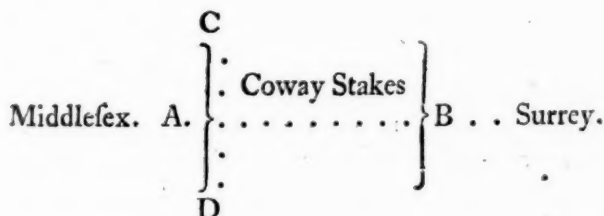
It may be perhaps doubted whether the Britons, at this time, had any lead in such a state, that they could wrap it round the stakes as a plumber would do at present; nor can it be well conceived what purpose such a covering could have answered in opposing Caesar's passage. His advance is described to have been very rapid; the Britons, therefore, must have necessarily driven these stakes into the bed of the river in a great hurry, which Caesar expressly says were sharp at the end, (without any mention of lead) as they should be for the purpose of driving them very far in, upon which indeed the whole strength of the fortification depended. But of what use could this covering with lead possibly be, upon this sudden attack? It is not necessary for me to shew for what other purpose these stakes, supposed to be still visible in the time of Bede, had been driven into the bed of the river; possibly, however, they are only the remains of a fishing wear, so many of which, in the Thames particularly, are directed to be destroyed by the 23d chapter of Magna Charta.

THAT the stakes found some years since near Oatlands were only the remains of such a fishing wear, I have lately happened to procure the following very decisive proof.

A FISHERMAN at Shepperton told me, that he had caught a very large barbel, near the spot where Caesar passed the Thames at Coway Stakes; and upon my asking how he came to know any thing about this matter, he said, he had been employed by some gentlemen to take up the stakes at that place, which they pronounced to be those that were made use of against Caesar.

ON this, I desired that he would carry me to Coway Stakes, and would shew me in what direction they were placed, which he pointed out to me, by carrying his boat across in the very line
6 where

where they had been driven. The annexed rough plan will explain this better than any verbal description :



It is agreed on all hands that Caesar's army crossed from the south point B. to the north point A. as the stakes were really ranged. Now it must appear to any one who will examine the direction as here represented, that such stakes could not possibly have obstructed the passage of an army ; for to answer such purpose they must have been driven from C to D.

BE this, however, as it may, it is sufficient for me to have proved by Caesar's own words, that the stakes to oppose his passage were not covered with lead ; and it therefore becomes demonstration that those which Bede alludes to, must have been used for some other purpose.

THERE is also a still shorter answer to this passage in Bede, so much relied upon by Camden, which is, that the place is not at all ascertained where these stakes were found, so that it is equally applicable to any other part of the Thames [c].

THAT the river, besides this, is not fordable at Coway Stakes, I shall now prove by Camden's own state of the fact, upon which the very possibility of his conjecture being admissible must entirely

[c] Mr. S. Gale, in a dissertation on Caesar's passage of the Thames, printed in vol. I. p. 183, supports the opinion of Camden, as to his crossing at Otlands, but scarcely makes use of any arguments which had not been before insisted upon.

depend. He informs us, that the Thames is at Coway *scarce six feet deep*; though after this he says, that he cannot be mistaken in what he hath advanced *on account of the shallowness of the river*. Now this great antiquary must have entirely forgotten the part of Caesar's account that makes most express mention of the heads of the Roman infantry being above the water. Was Caesar not thus particular and minute, it might possibly have been contended, that the infantry crossed on horseback, whilst their horses swam, as they passed the Menai under Paulinus, in their invasion of the island of Anglesey [d].

Now, my Lord, I must beg leave to insist that the water should not be in any part deeper than four feet and a half for the infantry of an army to cross by fording;

Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus.

MR. Horsley indeed asserts, that he hath been informed there are three or four fords not above five feet deep in the neighbourhood of Guildford.

THIS, however, proves too much; for Caesar expressly values himself upon passing at *the only ford*; and if there were more than one, to what purpose did the Britons drive their stakes to obstruct his passage, when he might have crossed at so many others?

THESE are the chief arguments which Camden makes use of, to prove that Caesar's army forded the Thames at Coway Stakes, which he concludes with these words, "And I am the first that I know who hath settled it (*viz.* the ford) in its proper place [e]."

I ventured to suppose in the outset that the name of Coway Stakes was the occasion of this great antiquary's being misled; and I shall now endeavour to shew from another part of his Britannia,

[d] See Tacitus's account of this passage.

[e] See the Britannia, in Surry.

that

that this is not the only error, which arose from his predilection for a favourite etymology.

IN his account of Carnarvonshire he says, Snowdon is so called, "because it harbours snow continually, being *throughout the year* "covered with it, or rather with a hardened crust of snow, of many "years continuance." Now Wyddfa, or the very highest summit of the chain of hills formerly called the forest of Snowdon, is not above eight miles from St. George's Channel, besides that there is only the interposition of Ireland to divide it from the great Atlantic Ocean. As it is, therefore, exposed to those prevailing and warm winds the W. and S. W., which blow also over such a tract of sea, snow never continues upon this mountain so long, as it does upon the hills of lesser height, which are more inland (as the Berwyn mountains in Denbighshire); and of this I am commonly an annual witness.

BUT, my Lord, I will not dwell longer upon the supposed mistake of this very learned and most consummate antiquary; and I shall now proceed to examine the arguments of Bishop Kennet, from which he endeavours to prove, that Caesar's army did not pass the Thames at Coway Stakes, but thirty miles higher up, at Wallingford in Berkshire.

HE begins the second chapter of his Parochial Antiquities in the following words: "Caesar, in his first expedition against this "island, was, no doubt, confined to the eastern coast of Kent; and "in the second, he is generally supposed not to have made great "progress, because his own Itinerary describes no far advanced "marches, and because Tacitus, Lucan, Horace, &c. reflect upon "this as an imperfect attempt. Hence (says the learned Bishop) "Camden was the first of our writers, who *dared* to bring Caesar "as far as Coway Stakes, near Otlands in Surrey."

AFTER this introduction (when it must be remembered, that Kennet *dared* more than Camden by nearly thirty miles) he pro-

nounces it at once to be almost certain, that Caesar's army forded at *Wallingford*, which is at least so much higher up the Thames, whilst the conjecture is directly contrary to what he had before stated with regard to Caesar's having made no far advanced marches.

I HAVE before ventured to suppose, that Camden's mistake arose from his being struck with the name of *Coway Stakes*; it should seem also that Bishop Kennet was equally misled by the etymology which he ascribes to the town of Wallingford, and possibly because it was within the neighbourhood of this great antiquary, whilst he was vicar of Ambrosden.

THERE seems to be implanted in us a rather laudable partiality to the place of our nativity, or residence, which makes us fancy that the natural productions exceed those of other parts, nor are we less willing to discover any other circumstance which may contribute to its celebrity.

LET us see, however, the effects of this, perhaps, amiable prejudice, in what the learned Bishop advances.

HIS proof in the outset amounts to no more than this. Comius Atrebas was sent over by Caesar previous to the first invasion, in order to conciliate the minds of the Britons to the Romans. From this Kennet takes it for granted, that as Comius was a native of Berkshire (generally supposed to be the Atrebatia of the Romans) he must have, therefore, persuaded Caesar to ford the Thames at Wallingford, which is in that county.

COMIUS ATREBAS, however, was no native of Berkshire, or indeed any part of Great Britain. The Atrebates, or Atrebatii, inhabited that part of Flanders, near St. Omers, which is now called Artois [f]: if then it be asked, why Caesar sent Comius over to influence the Britons in his favour, Caesar's Commentaries

[f] See the maps to Cluver's and Ptolemy's Ancient Geography.

supply the answer. Comius had been appointed king, or chieftain, of Atrebatia, in Flanders [g], which Caesar had conquered before he attempted to invade this island.

WE shall find, however, in the same Commentaries, that some of the Atrebatii had settled in England, and that they gave their name to the district they inhabited, which was not the inland county of Berkshire, but situated on the eastern coast, and probably of Kent. I here subjoin Caesar's own words: "*Britanniae pars interior incolitur ab iis, quos natos in insulâ ipsâ memoriâ proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui praedae ac belli inferendi causâ ex Belgio transfierant, qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum appellantur, quibus orti ex civitatibus eò pervenerunt, et bello illato, ibi remanserunt, atque agros colere coeperunt [h].*"

THESE colonies, therefore, are the *Maritimae Civitates*, which were chiefly situated on the eastern coast of Kent; and if this wanted further proof, it may receive it from a passage in Caesar, which follows the last citation. "*Ex his omnibus longè sunt humanissimi qui Cantium incolunt, quae regio est maritima omnis [i].*" Caesar, therefore, sent his dependant Comius over to the Atrebatii, who had settled on the eastern coast, and whose assistance might be of such use to him from this situation on his first landing.

As for the inhabitants of Berkshire, they were too inland to be of consequence as allies; and as Caesar declares [k], he could procure no intelligence to be depended upon with regard to this island before his invasion, it is impossible he could have heard any thing about the interior parts of the country.

[g] See lib. iv. de Bello Gallico, c. 21.

[h] Ibid. lib. ix. c. 12.

[i] Ibid. lib. v. c. 4.

[k] Ibid. lib. iv. c. 20.

BISHOP Kennet afterwards is not satisfied with sending Comius into Berkshire, but thence supposes, that he must have been the person who pointed out to Caesar the only passable part of the Thames at Wallingford.

THIS supposition, however, receives an answer from Caesar's own account [1], who procured this information (as other generals do) from the people of the country, some of which he mentions had deserted to him, and furnished him with proper intelligence.

THE next authority relied upon by Kennet is no less than a Saxon version of Orosius by King Alfred, which states, that "Caesar's third battle was fought near the river Thames, at a town called Wallingford."

I HAVE been favoured by your Lordship with a very fine transcript of this Saxon version, by the late Mr. Ballard of Oxford, and find in the 12th chapter of the 5th book, the following passage, "heopa þrýðde ġeƿeoht ƿær neah þæra ea þe man hæƿ Temeƿe, "neah þam ƿorða þe man hæƿ ƿelingaƿorð."

WITH all due deference to the authority of the royal translator, I must beg leave to make some observations upon this passage, so much relied upon by Bishop Kennet, of which I do not find the least traces in Orosius.

ALFRED certainly supposes, that the *third battle* (þrýðde ġeƿeoht) between Caesar and the Britons happened near *Wallingford*. The royal translator, however, could not have any authority which deserved to be relied upon with regard to this assertion, except Caesar's Commentaries, by which it appears to have been the *seventh* battle or skirmish, and not the *third*. Add to this, that the term ġeƿeoht implies, that there was a considerable conflict before victory declared itself; whereas Caesar informs us, that the Britons

[1] De Bello Gallico, lib. v. c. 88.

made scarcely any resistance, but that on seeing the Roman infantry cross the river with alacrity, they immediately quitted their post on the opposite bank.

THE next argument is from the passage in Bede, which Camden likewise so much relies upon. Kennet, however, applies it differently, and supposes, that the Romans not having been able to cross where they met with the first obstruction, were obliged to march as high up the river as Wallingford. By this the learned Bishop directly contradicts Caesar, who expressly informs us, that both horse and foot actually passed where the stakes were placed.

KENNET, after this, hath recourse to a passage in William of Poictou, which he thus translates: "When Caesar came to the river Thames, to force a passage into the dominions of Cassibelan, his enemies opposed him on the other side, so as the Romans passed not over without loss and danger; but when the Norman Duke came into the same country, the Princes and the people came there to meet him, and his forces had a free passage across the river." But, my Lord, what inference can be drawn from this citation, except that William of Poictou imagined Caesar was opposed in his passage of the Thames, but the chronicler by no means specifies Wallingford, or any other place where this happened?

THE argument with which Bishop Kennet concludes, is from an etymology of the name of Wallingford, which he supposes to have been imposed by the Britons, to perpetuate the memory of the Romans having forded at this place. There are, however, many objections to this derivation of the name. To state his argument more strongly than he hath done himself; Wallingford must mean *The ford of the strangers*. Now I should conceive that the Romans, by the time they had made their second invasion, were known to the Britons by a name somewhat similar to that which they had obtained in most parts of Europe.

BESIDES

BESIDES this, if recourse is made to an argument arising from the etymology of a word, one syllable is not to be derived from one language, whilst the second is deduced from another tongue. Now though *ford* signified in Saxon what we now understand by the word in English, yet in the British language it signifies a *road*, and not a shallow where a river may be passed, the term for which is *Rhyd* [*m*]. Hence *Rhyd* is the termination to many places in Wales, as *Rhyd Odwyn* (or Edwyn's Ford) in Carmarthenshire, as also *Doleogrhdy* (or the meadow above the salmon ford) not far from Dolgelly, in Merionethshire. On the contrary, there are many places in England that terminate in *ford*, which either have no water at all, or such insignificant brooks that you may pass them any where: in such places recourse must be had to the British signification of *ford*, which is a road. There are three villages, within a mile of each other, not far from Farringdon, in Berkshire, called *Shellingford*, *Stanford* and *Hatford*, which have no streams that deserve to be considered as scarcely more than rills.

BUT the strongest instance, perhaps, is a high hill between Basingstoke and Winchester, where there is no water at all, and yet it is called *Cockford* [*n*].

I HAVE now gone through every argument relied upon by Bishop Kennet, as it is not candid to combat only part, and leave the rest unanswered. I must likewise here add a remark (though perhaps it may be considered by some as rather minute) which seems to make strongly against the learned Bishop's conjecture, and in some degree also against Camden's. There is this at least in all true hypotheses, that the most trifling circumstances will always confirm them, whereas the contrary will be experienced in those which are erroneous. Caesar mentions, that the Britons had every

[*m*] See Dr. Davis's Welsh Dictionary, in the articles *Fford*, and *Rhyd*.

[*n*] It may not be improper also to observe, that the French term of *Carrefour*, or the point where four roads meet, is probably derived from the Celtic, or British word *ffordd*.

kind of timber-tree, "*practer fagum & abietem*;" but how could he have made this observation, if he crossed the Thames at Wallingford, in his way to which he must have necessarily seen the beech woods near Nettlebed.

THE same remark also proves, that his army did not ford the river near Coway Stakes; for beech begins not to be an uncommon tree in the neighbourhood of Tunbridge Wells, and continues to appear here and there till within fifteen miles of London, where there is a considerable tract of woods of this sort, precisely in the road through which the Roman army must have marched.

BESIDES this, we hear of no difficulties which they encountered in their progress through a country, which was then exactly in the state that our armies have lately experienced in America, and was undoubtedly a mere wilderness.

BUT, my Lord, I dare say it hath not escaped you, that I have not yet said any thing in relation to the distance at which the Thames is supposed (according to the passage in Caesar) to have divided Cassibelan's territories from *the states on the sea coast* [o].

I MUST admit, that I at first apprehended a Roman *passus*, in the admeasurement of miles, was no more than a common step, which does not exceed two feet and a half; and according to this method of computing a Roman mile, Coway Stakes would be twice the distance that it should be by Caesar's account, and Wallingford three times as much. This is certainly the original and primary signification of the word *passus*, from which *passo*, in Ita-

[o] The expression is *maritimae civitates*; and in other parts Caesar says, "ex his longè humanissimi sunt qui Cantiam incolunt, quae regio est *maritima omnis*." Lib. v. cap. 19.

"Neque enim praeter navigatores adit ad illos (sc. Britannos) quisquam; neque iis ipsis quidquam praeter *maritimam oram*, atque eas regiones quae sunt contra Galliam nostram notum est." Lib. iv. cap. 20.

lian, and *pace*, in English, are most clearly derived [*p*]. We now measure commonly by the single step, and no method can be more proper for settling the contents of a mile. I found, however, that most antiquaries compute a Roman *passus* to be five feet, or two steps; relying upon the following passage in Pliny: "Stadium centum viginti quinque nostros efficit *passus*, hoc est, pedes 625 [*q*]." This description of the contents of a Roman *passus*, in Pliny's time, is too express for me to controvert, though many a folio hath been written upon fewer materials than I have collected, which may afford the greatest reason to doubt, whether the *passus* was thus considered in the time of Julius Caesar.

I SHALL, therefore, only mention that Monf. de la Barre hath published a treatise, to prove that the contents of the Roman *stadium* are *absolutely unknown*, which are equally settled with those of the Roman *passus*, by the citation from Pliny [*r*]. The Abbé Balley [*s*] also insists, in another dissertation, that the miles in Antonine's Itinerary must be considered as Gaulish leagues, which are a Roman mile and a half. Monf. Gilbert [*t*] likewise asserts, that the Roman *passus* had varied so much, as to become six different kinds of measure. Lastly, Monf. de la Nauze hath a dissertation upon the above-cited passage from Pliny, in which he endeavours to prove, that, some centuries before the age in which Pliny lived, the Roman mile consisted of ten *stadia* instead of eight, and that this hath introduced a confusion in many of his admeasurements and distances.

[*p*] Thus also the measure of a foot seems to have been originally deduced from the common length of the human foot.

[*q*] Nat. Hist. lib. II. c. 23.

[*r*] See vol. XIX. p. 53, of the Memoires of the Academy of Inscriptions & Belles Lettres, which society of antiquaries testify the highest approbation of this treatise of Monf. La Barre's.

[*s*] See the same volume, p. 648.

[*t*] See vol. XXVIII. p. 212.

As

As I, however, stated that I should not controvert this very explicit passage in Pliny, I must of course admit, that Coway Stakes is nearer to the distance of eighty miles from the sea coast, than any part of the Medway, or other river, which Caesar's army might have crossed: but I must beg your Lordship's reconsideration of this part of the passage relied upon, "*Cujus fines flumen a maritimis civitatibus dividit (quod vocatur Thamefis) a mari circiter millia passuum LXXX.*"

The first objection which arises to this computed distance is, that no geographer ever described the bounds of a country in such a manner.

LET us consider Caffibelan's territories to be placed in Hertfordshire (as they generally are according to the common opinion of antiquaries, and I do not mean by this to exclude part of the neighbouring counties;) would any one, whether a geographer or not, say that a country was divided from the sea by the Thames, at the distance of eighty miles, when that river does not run parallel to the coast?

THERE is no precision or certainty in such a description; and the reader is left as much in the dark, as if nothing had been said with relation to the boundaries.

I SHOULD therefore think, that there is some mistake in transcribing the number of miles from the MSS.; or perhaps, it may be one of those parts of the Commentaries, which Pollio Asinius considered as "*parum diligenter, parumque integrâ veritate compositi* [*u*]."

IT is well known that there are perpetually such inaccuracies, when a distance is mentioned in numerals only; and for this reason I cannot find that any antiquary almost hath the least difficulty in disregarding them.

THERE cannot be a stronger proof of this, than that there are so few of the distances in Antonine's Itinerary, upon which there are not perpetual disputes, which end in nothing being settled

[*u*] Suetonius, in *Vita Julii Caesaris*, c. 55.

with precision. I shall mention two or three citations from Horsely to this purpose.

"Did we but certainly know what sort of miles are used in the Itinerary." P. 382.

"BUT to settle the proportion of Itinerary miles, is to attempt to settle an uncertainty." P. 384.

"EVERY one almost professes an inclination to adhere to the numbers of the Itinerary as we have them, and yet every one in fact does alter, and make free with them." P. 387.

I SHALL now give some instances from Horsely of his taking these liberties with numerals himself.

"WE have an L omitted in the length of Severus's wall." P. 62.

"If we should throw an X out of the number, it will do." P. 418.

"THERE is plainly one hundred omitted in the total of this Itinerary."

"THE distance of this river from Chester is too little; if we throw out an X, it is then exact enough." P. 456.

To cite passages from other antiquaries to the same purport, would be to transcribe great part of their works.

I SHALL therefore now leave it to your Lordship's decision, whether the distance of eighty miles from the staves on the sea coast answering better to Coway Stakes, than where I have supposed Caesar to cross in my former letter, is to prevail against the many arguments which I have endeavoured to throw together, proving, that he could never have passed the river now called the Thames.

BUT, as Caesar's own appellation of the river by that name will perhaps appear to many to supersede all cavil or dispute about this matter, I shall now state to your Lordship a passage from the 60th book of Dio Cassius, which proves to a demonstration, that the Romans understood by the *Thames* a different river from that very capital one which hath now obtained that name. This histo-
rain

rian describes Plautius following the Britons to *the mouth* of the Ταμεσα, and then mentions a bridge at no great distance over the river, which was actually passed by some German auxiliaries.

Αναχωρησαντων δ' εντευθεν των Βρετανων επι τον Ταμεσαν ποταμον, καθ' ο ες τε του ωκεανου εκβαλλει, πλημμυροντι τε αυτη λιμναζει, και ραδιως αυτον διαβαιντων, ατε και τα στεριφα τα τε ευπορα τε χωριε ακριβως ειδων, οι Ρωμαιοι επακολυθησαντες σφισι ταυτη μεν εσφειλισαν, διασηξαμενων δε αυθις των Κελτων, και τινων εβρων δια γαφυρας ολιγον ανοω διελθοντων, πολλοι αχθεν τε αιμα αυτοις παρορμησαν, και πολλες αυτων κατεκοιφον. Lib. LX. p. 780. Ed. Steph.

Now, my Lord, I will leave it to the Smeatons of the present times, whether our ancestors could have built a bridge over the Thames, where it empties itself into the sea, and whether it does not therefore amount to an irrefragable proof, that some other river was then known by the appellation of Ταμεσα, or the Thames.

THE very unreasonable length of the letter which I have troubled your Lordship with on this subject, makes it now proper perhaps that I should shortly recapitulate the principal arguments which I have insisted upon.

THE river Thames runs in a diametrically opposite course to that so called by Cæsar, which divides Cassibelan's territories from the eastern coast, or the *Maritimæ civitates*.

I WILL venture even to go further, and allow the Thames to run in a proper direction, according to Cæsar's description: yet I must still insist, that if the question is asked any one with a map before him, from what this river divides Hertfordshire (Cassibelan's territories); the answer must be from Surrey, which is an inland county, and not possibly from any *maritima civitas*.

I HOPE to have proved by the citation from Dio Cassius, that the ancients called some other river by the name of Ταμεσα.

CAESAR twice mentions this river; but dwells not at all upon its beauties, tide, or other circumstances, which must have necessarily struck him.

He

HE does not moreover seem to have heard of such a city as London, upon the banks of this river ; which Tacitus describes, as being a place of great trade in the time of Nero [*x*] ; and Ammianus Marcellinus calls, not only a flourishing, but ancient town [*y*].

ON the contrary, Caesar describes the Britons as living merely within a trench and fortification of wood, without mention of even a covered hut.

LASTLY, there are no fords at all which infantry can pass, near the places where Caesar's army hath hitherto been supposed to have crossed, or otherwise there are several, which directly contradicts the account given in his Commentaries.

IT becomes high time, however, that I should not detain your Lordship longer, than by subscribing myself, with great truth,

Your most faithful

Humble servant,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

[*x*] Annal. lib. xiv. c. 33.

[*y*] Amm. Marcel. lib. xxvii. c. 10.

XXIII. *Remarks on the Time employed in Caesar's two Expeditions into Britain. By the Rev. Dr. Owen, of St. Olave's, Hart-Street. Communicated by the Hon. Daines Barrington [a].*

Read at the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, Jan. 11, 1770.

FIRST EXPEDITION.

CAESAR's expedition into Britain was made in the 5th year before Christ. He landed on the 26th of August in the Downs [b]. He met, upon his landing, with a warm reception. "Pugnatum est ab utrisque acriter [c]." The ground was marshy, and full of deep ditches, which embarrassed the Romans: "impe-
ditos adoriebantur (Britanni) [c]. This battle was fought on the sea shore, and not far from it. Nothing more was done for four days, viz. till August 30 at night, which was the full moon, when the storm arose that wrecked the ships, which had carried Caesar's army. "Post diem 4. quam est in Britanniam ventum,—eâdem
"nocte accidit, ut esset luna plena, &c." This misfortune the Britons took advantage of—broke from their allegiance—stopped all provisions—and wisely endeavoured to protract the war, as knowing that the approaching winter would distress the Romans, and give them cause to repent their rashness. This Caesar suspected, and therefore provided against it as well as he could, by bringing in corn for his present supply—and refitting his ships for his fu-

[a] These remarks of the Rev. Dr. Owen are printed from loose scraps of paper, just as they occurred to him upon reading Caesar's account of his invasion of Britain.

[b] See Phil. Trans. N^o. 193.

[c] De Bell. Gall. iv. § 24.

ture return. This took up at least a week, which brings it to the 7th of September.

AFTER this, and in consequence of the resolution which the Britons had taken to defend themselves, they fell on a party of the Romans, as they were *reaping*, killed some, and put the rest in disorder. This was still but at a small distance from the camp; for it was in sight of it.

IN this conflict, Caesar, by his own account, seems to have had the worst of it. He dared not continue the battle. All he could do, was to bring back his men into the camp.

AFTER this, there followed about the new moon, viz. about Sept. 13, *several* days of tempestuous weather, which kept the Romans in their camp, and the Britons in their respective retreats. In the mean time, however, the latter sent messengers into all parts of the country, and collected together a large number of foot and horse, and then came to the camp—and hazarded another battle. They were again defeated, and pursued *some* way,—“Quos tanto spatio secuti, quantum cursu & viribus efficere potuerunt.” It is added, “deinde omnibus *longe lateque* aedificiis adflictis in-
“censisque, se in castra receperunt.” This is the whole of Caesar’s exploit; and through the progress of it, it is very plain, that he always kept within sight of his camp; therefore this *longe lateque* can reasonably comprehend but a small extent.

THIS last battle was probably fought in the morning; and the very same day at midnight, which was but a little short of the autumnal equinox.—*propinquâ die æquinoctii*—he left Britain, and set sail for the continent.

FROM hence then it appears,

1. THAT Caesar was in Britain about 23 days.
2. THAT he fought his first battle on the *sea shore*, at his landing, August 26. His second battle within sight of his camp, and near

[d] § 33.

[e] § 31.

5

it,

it, about September 7; and his third near the camp again about September 18; which when he had got, he marched off. Caesar, therefore, from this expedition, could know but little of the island, and that of the eastern coast, where he landed. It does not seem that they ever ventured three miles from the camp, which, I suppose, was fixed on the first firm dry ground they came to, and perhaps about a mile from the sea. It would be worth inquiring whether there is any tradition about it.

SECOND EXPEDITION.

CAESAR, on his second expedition, landed in Britain about mid-day, at the same place he had done the year before [f]. This place I suppose to be somewhere about *Deal*.

HAVING fixed his camp in a convenient place, and evidently not far from the sea, § 8, he set out in the night in pursuit of the enemy. When he had advanced, guided by some prisoners, about *twelve miles*, he came in sight of the *British* forces. They were posted on a river, "*ad flumen progressi*," and disputed the passage with the Romans. Quere, where is this river *twelve miles* from *Deal*; and a river too with a *high ground* on the western side, *ex superiore loco*?" Be it where it will, the Britons were beaten, and forced to retire into the woods. But they retired, it seems, to a place *well known*, and of *great consequence*; a place *remarkably* fortified both by *art* and *nature*—"egregie et naturâ et operâ munum." But why fortified? The reason follows. "*Quem (locum) domestici belli, ut videbatur, causâ, jam ante praeparaverant* [g]." Praeparaverant *who?* *Britanni*, you will say. Not *all* the Britons surely—but some *body* of them: and a *body* that waged *domestic* war with their neighbours. Let this at present be only *remarked*. From *this* fortified place the Britons were at length ex-

[f] De Bello Gallico, lib. v. § 7.

[g] 8.

pelled, and driven into the *woods*. The day being now far spent, here Caesar rested. The first day's march was therefore twelve miles.

THE next day, intending to pursue the enemy, he was obliged to desist, and recall his forces, on account of the damage which his ships had sustained by a violent tempest the night before.

FROM the similar accidents that happened to his ships, one would be apt to conclude, that he came into the island about the *same time* in both years, or rather, about *eleven days* sooner this year than the last, so as to make this tempest correspond with the *full moon* in *August* again. This tempest then came on August 19 or 20, and they seem to have been aware of it; and to have provided against it in some degree; but it rose higher than they expected, "quod neque anchorae funesque subsisterent; neque "nautae gubernatoresque vim tempestatis pati possent [b]."

WHETHER Caesar drew back his army to the ships, or went there alone, does not clearly appear; though the former is the most probable. However, it took him up no less than *ten days*, "dies x consumit," in refitting his ships. This brings us to the *beginning of September*. At this time then Caesar returned to his *old camp*, twelve miles from *Deal*. When he came *there*, he found the British forces increased, and the command of them given, by common consent, to *Cassibellan*. Who this *Cassibellan* was, we are not told; but it seems he was a powerful prince, and had waged, for some time past, continual war—"cum reliquis civi-
"tatibus,"—with the *other* cities or states.—Which *other* states, it should appear by the context, must mean the *maritime* cities or states, just before mentioned. And the *same* may be deduced from another circumstance.

IT was observed above, that the *strong fortification* in the wood was erected by the Britons on account of their *domestic* war.—Its situation, being only twelve miles from the sea, plainly shews that

[b] § 9.

it

it was erected by, and belonged to, the inhabitants of the *sea coast*, or the *maritimae civitates*, who were continually at war with the people of the *upper country*. For the state of things seems to have been at that time as follows. The *maritime* cities, or *Kent*—"nam Cantium est ad mare [*i*]," contained four kingdoms. Now the inhabitants of these cities, or kingdoms, though called by the name of *Britons*, were really of *foreign* extraction [*k*]. And as they got possession at first of these parts by invasion and violence, *ibid.* so it is probable, that they afterwards endeavoured to extend their territories, and took every opportunity of making encroachments on the more inland parts. Herein they were opposed by *Cassibellan*, who seems to have been the King of the *upper country*; and hence we may account for the continual wars between them.

BUT this account, which makes *Cassibellan* King of the *inland* part of *Kent*, is in no wise, it will be said, agreeable to the description which Caesar gives of his territories. For he describes him as possessed of a kingdom, "cujus fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit, quod appellatur *Tamesis*, a mari circiter millia passuum LXXX [*l*]." That is, "whose borders are divided from the *maritime* states by the river they call *Thames*, at the distance of about eighty miles from the sea."

HERE the question is, whether *they* called *that* river the *Thames*, which we call so *now*. I should think *not*; and my reason for it is this—because *our* *Thames* is in no wise correspondent to Caesar's account. It cannot be said to divide any place in Britain from the *maritime* towns of *Kent*, but *Essex*—nor properly that. Whereas the *Medway* answers the description in every respect. It *divides* the county into two parts—and that at the distance of about eighty miles from the sea, following the course of the river. In this view the account is clear, and conformable to *fact*: but the common interpretation contradicts *fact*, and is absurd. For to say, that "the river *Thames*, at the distance of eighty miles from the sea, or

[*i*] § 18.[*k*] § 10.[*l*] § 9.

"above *London*, divides *Middlesex* from the maritime flates of "Kent," sounds to me not a jot more rational, than it would be to say, that "*Blackbeath* is a promontory." Besides, the *Tbames* there does not touch Kent.

BUT let us now quit this subject, and follow Caesar; for matters may perhaps clear up as we proceed.

CAESAR, let it be remembered, returned to his camp, twelve miles from the sea, in the beginning of *September*, and found the British forces greatly increased. It should seem, that, in their march to this camp, Caesar's army was sorely harrassed by the British horse [m]. And after they had reached it, whilst they were busy in fortifying it, the Britons made an unexpected sally upon them from the woods, and were repelled with difficulty. This was the work of one day in the defence of their camp: or if you suppose the Romans to be this day on their march, "in itinere," from their camp, yet they could go but a little way, when so often interrupted. The next day the Britons fought them again; but were entirely routed, and put to flight. This day, therefore, the Romans could not advance far, if they advanced at all. Hence then it should seem, that they were not yet got at most above eighteen or twenty miles from the place at which they had landed. And this was at least September the 2d or 3d.

THE Britons, finding themselves, after the last defeat, unable to stop the Romans, did little more than skirmish. The auxiliaries departed [n]; but evidently departed on some design, and probably with that of intercepting the Romans at the *ford*, to which the road they were in led, and where alone they could pass the river.

CAESAR, being informed of their design, "cognito eorum con-
"filio," led his army to, or rather towards the river *Tbames*, on the confines of *Cassibellan's* territories—"ad flumen *Tamefin*, in
"fines *Cassivellauni*." I shall not stay to discuss the passage over

[m] § 11.

[n] § 13.

that river at present; it will come more properly hereafter. It is spoken of proleptically. For § 15 ought undoubtedly to be connected with the first sentence of § 14. In the mean time, *Cassibellan*, as observed before, having dismissed the greatest part of his forces on that secret design, kept about 4000 *essedarii*, or charioteers, with him, to watch CAESAR'S *marches*—"itinera [o];" and with these he harrassed him greatly, not only by continual skirmishing, but also by driving the cattle, &c. out of the fields, through which he *knew his road lay*—"quibus nos itur facturos" "cognoverat [o]." This was the road to the *ford* or *passage*; else how could he know which way they would go? All, therefore, that the Romans could do, was to lay waste the fields, and burn the houses that stood near their route.

IN the mean time, or, if I mistake not, as the Romans were marching towards the *ford*, the *Trinobantes*, inhabitants of one of the strongest cities in those parts [p], but formerly oppressed by *Cassibellan*, applied to Caesar for protection. He made their former King's son, *Mandubratius*, who was *then in his army*, and probably *conducted* it all this way, King over them in his father's stead. The tribute of *corn*, which he required of them, and which they *speedily*, "celeriter," sent him, shews they were situated not far from his army [q]; nay, I should think he marched through their territories, as they are said to be, "defensi, atque ab omni" "militem injuria prohibiti [r];" for these *milites* were evidently his own men.

THE favour shewn to the *Trinobantes* encouraged five other states (neighbouring ones, I suppose), viz. *Cenimagni*, *Segontiaci*, *Ancalites*, *Bibroci* and *Cassi*, to surrender likewise. Quere, are there no traces of these people?

THE *Trinobantes* appear, as Caesar reached *them* first, to have been seated the most *easterly* of all these states, and in a corn coun-

[o] § 15 [p] Quere, its situation? [q] § 10. [r] § 17.

try,

try, which is another proof that they were not among the *interiores*: for “*interiores plerique frumenta non serunt [s]*.” The other states lay perhaps in his route in the very order he mentions them; so that the *Cassi* might probably be the tributaries, or subjects of *Cassibellan*, whose mansion was at *no great* distance off, “*no longe ex eo loco*,” to the west.

WHEN Caesar was informed by the people where *Cassibellan's* fortress was, he proceeded immediately to take it, as it was his chief aim from the beginning. And *now*, I think it was, that he came to the river *Tames*, or, as I would say, the *Medway*, which *Cassibellan*, knowing he must needs pass before he could attack him, had taken care to defend with *stakes*, according to the method commonly used in such cases, and to get his forces ready to guard the passage. But Caesar's army, flushed with their former success, pushed through the river—defeated *Cassibellan's* forces—made up to his mansion, or fortified habitation—and, after some resistance, took it—killed many men, and carried away a great number of cattle.

WHILE these things were transacting in *these parts*, that is, as I understand it, while Caesar was advancing towards the river, &c. *Cassibellan*, like an experienced commander, sent to *Cantium*, or the *maritime* states, ordered them to collect all their forces, and make a sudden attack on his camps on the sea shore, in order to gain possession of his ships. They accordingly obeyed, and made the attempt; but were beaten off with great loss.

CASSIBELLAN, hearing of this defeat, and having suffered greatly by the devastations of his country, and finding himself peculiarly weakened by the forementioned states, sent to Caesar proposals of surrender, which he gladly accepted, as the summer was *far advanced*—“*neque multum aestatis superesset*,”—and *Cassibellan's* forces were still able to keep him employed till the winter—“*atque id facile extrahi posse intelligeret*.” He therefore demanded

[1] § 19.

hostages,

hostages, and appointed the tribute which the Britons were to pay, &c. Having received the hostages, he led back his army to the sea. Here he waited *some days*---“*aliquandiu* [1],”---for the transports: but finding they did not come; and fearing the weather should grow tempestuous, for it was *now* near the *equinox*---“*quod æquinoxium suberat*,”---he crowded the soldiers into the ships he had, and sailed off.

THIS is the account which Caesar gives of his second expedition into this island, and the only account that deserves to be regarded.

Now, from this account, it appears:

1. That he landed in Britain about the 18th of *August* at noon, p. 1. and 3; and that he quitted it a *few* days before the *equinox*; that is, about the 19th of *September*. His *whole stay*, therefore, in Britain was about *thirty-two* days. But he waited before he went off, “*aliquandiu*,” *some few days*, suppose *two*, for the ships he expected---and he spent *ten* days in refitting after the tempest. These twelve days, subtracted from thirty-two, leave but twenty for all his grand transactions and marches. But are twenty days a space of time in any wise sufficient for accomplishing the progress, which he is generally supposed to have made? Could he, in so short a time, lead from the sea shore of *Kent*, through an almost impassable country in its then state, his *heavy-armed* soldiers, who were often harrassed and interrupted by the enemy, often obliged to fight them, and to deviate into the woods in pursuit of them? Could he lead, I say, his soldiers, thus circumstanced, through the wilds of *Kent*, quite up to the river *Thames*; cross it above *Richmond*, eighty miles from the sea; enter at least ten miles into *Middlesex*, ravage again the country, &c. and then lead them back in so short a time? In plain terms, can any one believe, that Caesar could travel with his legions, maugre all the inconveniencies and embarrassments mentioned by him, a *hundred and eighty* miles in the compass of *twenty* days? that is, nine miles per

[1] § 19.

day, without intermission, though he was often interrupted by battles, and oftener obliged to go out of his way to skirmish with the enemy, and to ravage the country? *Credat Judaeus Apella.*

BESIDES, let us suppose, as is commonly supposed, that *Cassibellan* lived in *Middlesex*, and that *Caesar* crossed the *Thames* on the *tenth* day (which is as soon as he could) from his setting out: Now I would ask, does it seem practicable (which yet, by the account, must be the case) that *Cassibellan* could send a messenger to the maritime states; that those states could collect their forces, and make an attack upon the ships or naval camp; that the news of their defeat could be brought back to *Cassibellan* into *Middlesex*; that the treaty could afterwards be ratified; and *Caesar* be able to return with his army *ninety miles*? Is it probable, I say, that *all this* could be done in *ten days* more? Make *Cassibellan* King of upper *Kent*, and interpret *Tamesis* by the *Medway*, and the whole becomes feasible.

If this is not approved of, then make *Cassibellan* King of *Essex*, and get over the *Thames* into that county where you can.

H. OWEN.

XXIV. *The Draught of a Proclamation in the Year 1563, relating to Persons making Portraits of Queen Elizabeth. From the Original in the Paper Office, in the Hand-writing of Secretary Cecil, with his Corrections, and among his Papers: Communicated by Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Bart.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Feb. 23, 1768.

FOrasmuch as through the natural desire that all sorts of subjects and people, both noble and mean, have to procure the portrait and picture of the Queen's Majestie, great number of Paynters, and some Printers and gravers, have alreedy, and doe daily attempt to make in divers manners portraietures of hir Majestie in paynting, graving, and prynting, wherein is evidently shewn that hytherto none hath sufficiently expressed the naturall representation of hir Majesties person, favor, or grace, but for the most part have also erred therein, as thereof dayly complaints are made amongst hir Majesties loving subjects, in so much that for redress hereof hir Majestie hath lately bene so instantly and so importunately sued unto by the Lords of hir Counsell and others of hir nobility, in respect of the great disorder herein used, not only to be content that some speciall conning payntor might be permitted by access to hir Majestie to take the natural representation of hir Majestie whereof she hath bene allwise of her own right disposition very unwillyng, but also to prohibit all manner of other persons to draw, paynt, grave, or pourtrayet hir Majesties personage or visage for a time, untill by some perfect patron and example the same may be by others followed.

THERFOR hir Majestie, being herein as it were overcome with the contynuall requests of so many of hir Nobility and Lords, whom she cannot well deny, is pleased that for their contentations, some coning person mete therefor, shall shortly make a pourtraict of hir person or visage to be participated to others for satisfaction of hir loving subjects, and furthermore commandeth all manner of persons in the mean tyme to forbear from payntyng, graving, printing, or making of any pourtraict of hir Majestie, until some speciall person that shall be by hir allowed shall have first finished a pourtraicture thereof, after which fynished, hir Majestie will be content that all other painters, printers, or gravers, that shall be known men of understanding, and so thereto licensed by the hed officers of the plaices where they shall dwell (as reason it is that every person should not without consideration attempt the same) shall and maye at their pleasures follow the sayd patron or first portraicture. And for that hir Majestie perceiveth that a grete number of hir loving subjects are much greved and take great offence with the errors and doformities already committed by sondry persons in this hehalf, she straitly chargeth all hir officers and ministers to see to the due observation hereof, and as soon as may be to reform the errors already committed. and in the mean tyme to forbydd and prohibit the shewing or publication of such as are apparently deformed, until they may be reformed which are reformable.

XXV. *A Dissertation on the Crane, as a Dish served up at great Tables in England. By the Reverend Mr. Pegge.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Feb. 9, 1769.

IT appears from Horace, Epod. ii. that the ancients used the Crane as a viand; and what may seem more extraordinary, and even new to many people, our ancestors in this island formerly on great occasions, and in splendid entertainments, often served up the Crane as a sumptuous dish. I shall here produce some instances of this, and, as I imagine, enough to put the matter beyond all dispute.

WE find them used at the table as early as the Norman conquest; for Eudo (says Sir William Dugdale) [a] “personally attending at court, it so happened, that William Fitz-Osborne, then steward of the household, had set before the King *the flesh of a Crane*, scarce half roasted, &c.” We meet with them also as low as the reign of king Henry VIII. for when the French ambassadors came to England, A. D. 1527, the citizens of London presented them, *inter alia*, with 12 swans, 12 cranes, 12 fasantz, &c. [b]. In the order of a feast royal, made by Cardinal Wolsey, there was to be at the first course, *Heronsewe or Bitter*, and at the second, *Crane rostyd*, &c. [c]. And in the inventory of Serjeant Kebeel, 1500, which was not long before, viz. in the reign of Henry VII, three cranes alive were valued at five shil-

[a] Baron. I. p. 109.

[b] Hall, Chron. fol. clxv.

[c] Harl. MS. N^o 6807. fol. 50.

lings [*d*], which accords very well with the price of them in the Duke of Northumberland's MS. household Book, 1512, where they are directed, as I am informed, against Christmas, and other principal feasts, to be bought in, for the then Earl of Northumberland's own meals, at sixteen pence apiece, and, as I suppose, when dead.

In some regulations made by Archbishop Cranmer, relative to the tables of the clergy, A. D. 1541, it was ordered, "That of the greater fish or fowl, as cranes, swans, &c. there should be but one in a dish [*e*]." And Skelton, the satirical poet, who lived in the same reign, observes [*f*]:

How some of you do eat
In Lenton season flesh meat,
Fesauntes, Partriche, and Cranes.

So from Mr. Ames's *Typographical Antiquities* [*g*] we learn, that the proper term in carving the crane, was, *displaye that crane*, whereas for the heron it was *dysmembre that heron*, and for the bittern, *unjoynt that bitture*. The book whence this was taken was printed anno 1508 [*h*].

As to the intermediate time between the Norman Conquest and the reign of Henry VIII. it appears from Mr. Battely's Appendix to Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*, p. 29 [*i*], that at the great Inthronization Feast of George Nevil, Archbishop of York, 6 Edward IV. there were 204 cranes, 204 bittors, and 400 heronshaws. In the Harleian MSS. No. 4016, purveyance is made

[*d*] *Gent. Magazine*, 1768, p. 259.

[*e*] *Strype's Memoirs of Cranmer*, p. 452.

[*f*] P. 185.

[*g*] P. 90.

[*h*] I never saw this "book of kervying," but imagine the Crane must be mentioned in the body of it.

[*i*] See also Leland's *Collectanea*, VI. p. 2. or Mr. Pennant's *Append. to Brit. Zool.*, p. 495. also Mr. Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 144.

for King Richard II. being with the Duke of Lancastre, at the Bishop of Durham's palace at London, 22 Sept. 11 Rich. II. of

v Herons and Bitours.

xii *Cranes*.

and the second course consisted of

A Pottage.

Pigges rostid.

Cranes rostid.

Fesaunts rostid.

Herons rostid, &c.

At the Stallyng [Installation] of John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, 21 Hen. VI. there was at the first course *Heron-sewe*, and at the second course *Crane rostid* [t]. The crane occurs in the Mayor of London's regulation of the price of poultry printed 1572.

SOME perhaps may fancy, that the cranes in these cases were nothing but herons; but the contrary of that is evident from many of the passages above cited, where herons and bitterns are mentioned along with the cranes, and distinct from them. In the Duke of Northumberland's MS. cranys, hearonsewys, and bytters, are all separately named, and were to be purchased at different prices, the first at 1 s. 4 d. apiece, and the two latter at 1 s. They are likewise distinguished, as also are the egrittes, a species of the heron, in Archbishop Nevil's Feast. Besides, the crane was usually eaten in Italy, where they were commonly taken, as we learn from Boccacio, iv. 4. How they were caught in England I cannot pretend to say. It is said they were formerly an object for the hawk [l]; and we know that in Italy they were caught in snares [m]. However they were certainly taken here, and not imported; for Mr. Pennant writes [n],

[t] Battely, loc. cit.

[l] Pennant, p. 135. 140. Mr. Barrington, Obs. on the Statutes, p. 407.

[m] Horat. Epod. ii.

[n] Vol. II. p. 490. where there is a good print of this fowl.

" This species (the crane) was placed, in the folio edition of the
 " Zoology, among the British birds, on the authority of Mr.
 " Ray; who informs us, that in his time they were found dur-
 " ing the winter in large flocks in Lincolnshire and Cambridge-
 " shire: but on the strictest enquiry we learn, that at present
 " the inhabitants of those counties are entirely unacquainted
 " with them; we therefore conclude, that these birds have
 " forsaken our island. They were formerly in high esteem at
 " our tables, for the delicacy of their flesh (I suppose at great
 " tables, and on great occasions); for they feed only on grain,
 " herbs, or insects; so have nothing of the rankness of the pis-
 " civorous birds of this genus.—Though this species seems
 " to have forsaken these islands at present, yet it was formerly
 " a native, as we find in Willoughby, p. 52, that there was a
 " penalty of twenty pence for destroying an egg of this bird;
 " and Turner relates, that he has very often seen their young
 " ones in our marshes." The penalty seems to have been adapt-
 " ed to the value of a living bird, as noted above. The same au-
 " thor, speaking of the migration of birds, p. 513, says, " Egrets,
 " a species of heron, now scarce known in this island, were in
 " former times in prodigious plenty (there were a thousand of
 " them at Archbishop Nevil's feast); and the crane, that has
 " totally forsaken this country, bred formerly in our marshes.
 " Their place of incubation, as well as of all other cloven-footed
 " water fowl (the heron excepted) being on the ground, and ex-
 " posed to every one, as rural oeconomy increased in this coun-
 " try, these animals were more and more disturbed. At length
 " by a series of alarms, they were necessitated to seek, during the
 " summer, some lonely safe habitation."—Dr. Brookes says [o],
 " It is not certain whether this bird breeds in England or not.
 " They are generally taken to be birds of passage, and they are

[o] Vol. II. p. 288.

" said

“ said to leave us in September. This appears to be very certain, because they were seen to pass by Orleans in France, in the middle of the day, in the beginning of October 1753.”

Now I think it very clear that cranes do not at this time breed in England, and indeed, that they do not even frequent our coasts as birds of passage; which is the less to be wondered at, as so many species both of our quadrupeds and fowls are now lost. See the British Zoology, passim. The egret, a species of heron, is in a manner extinct here. See p. 492, 513. However, it must be a mistake to say, as Dr. Brookes does, that, supposing them to be birds of passage, they left us in *September*, since Mr. Ray expressly tells us, it was *in the winter* they were found here, and that we know it was against Christmas they were to be provided for the use of the Earl of Northumberland. To which I may add, that Archbishop Nevil's feast was also in winter, viz. 15 Jan. 1446 [p]. In this the Doctor likewise contradicts himself; for he has but just before told us, that there are great flocks of them here *in the winter season*. The birds seen at Orleans in October must therefore have come from some other country, and not from England. But, after all, as it is asserted, that cranes feed only on grain, herbs, or insects, one is at a loss to imagine how they could subsist here in *winter*, a season when grain, herbs, and insects, are so sparingly to be found. Possibly, it was the scarcity of food here, and the greater plenty of it discovered by them in other tracts, that caused the cranes to desert the island in the manner they have done, and even to breed elsewhere; it being natural for them both to breed, and continue, where they found they could best live. But this is offered as a mere conjecture. Herons and Bitterns are not so totally lost to us as the Crane; but are almost as much grown into disuse at our tables.

[p] Drake's Eborac. p. 444.

I SHALL

I SHALL only add one particular more; the word *Pedigree*, meaning Genealogy, is a term of some difficulty as to its original. Skinner gives the etymology of it thus, "vel q. d. Gallicè *gres seu degres des peres*, i. e. gradus patrum; vel a petendo *gradus*." Junius and Lye say nothing; and Skinner is followed by Mr. Johnson. It certainly has the appearance of a French word, but, from the length and nature of it, would be liable to various methods of writing in the unsettled ages of our language. I know not what the Heralds, who are most concerned with this word, may determine about it; but in Mr. Thoroton's *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, p. 159, it is written *Petigrewe*, or *Petygrewe*. In the Appendix to Robert of Gloucester, p. 585. it is *Petegreu*; and in a vellum MS. of 1 Hen. VI. it is *Pee de crue*, in three distinct words, which seemingly must signify, *the foot*, or *original of the increase or line*. But now as this should rather be *creue*, and as in the former cases we observe it written with *g* instead of *c*, quære whether the truth may not be *piè de grue*, *the crane's foot*, a pedigree of extent resembling the long foot or leg of a crane, especially where only the main line is carried down.

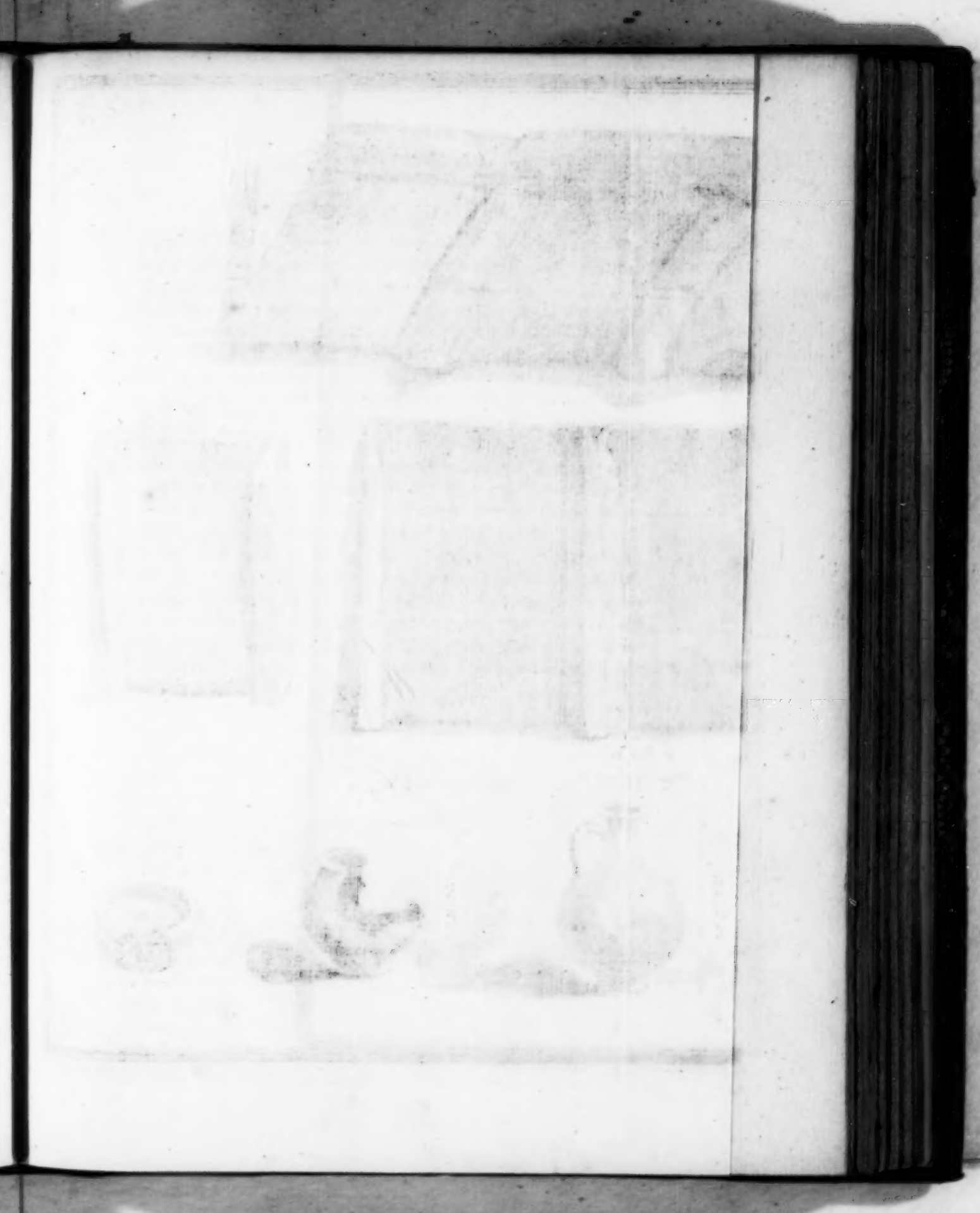


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

Diameter 6 1/2 In. & half



Fig. 5.

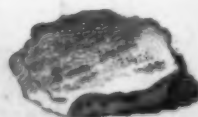


Fig. 6.

Diam. 6 In. & 1/4



Fig. 7.

Diam. 4 In. & 1/4



Fig. 8.



XXVI. *An Account of a Roman Sepulchre, found near York, in 1768. By John Burton, M. D.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 13, 1770.

IN the winter, A. D. 1768, some workmen digging in a piece of ground adjoining to the foot-road from York to Holdgate, lying between that city and Severus's Hills, about 150 yards from the walls, north of the present road to Burrowbridge and Aldburgh, near Severus's Hill, at about two feet depth found they had broke into an hollow place; and hoping to find a sum of money hidden therein, they soon searched it, and found some urns with ashes and earth.

Mr. White, a gentleman of this city, hearing of this discovery, went immediately to the place, and preserved some of the side and end tiles of this sepulchre, which was not then broken; since which, another gentleman carefully collected the remaining parts. This tomb was in form of an oblong room, with a roof like the ridge of a house, covered with hollow Roman tiles like our ridge tiles. (See plate x. fig. 1.) Each side consisted of three large tiles (if I may so call them) of a beautiful red, each one foot eight inches and a half in length, and fourteen inches and one quarter broad, one inch three fourths thick; the projection of the edges of each tile two inches four tenths, not quite flat, but bent a little forward, the curve being from about the middle towards the top, by which the upper end of these tiles were nearer each other at the top than at the bottom. (fig. 2.) From the top of these, the roof was covered in form of a ridge, with hollow Roman tiles, something like our ridge tiles. Each end of the sepulchre was inclosed with a tile of the same dimensions as those of the sides; and on each of these end tiles, towards the top, was this inscription, *LEG. IX. HIS.* (fig. 3.) very fair made with a

stamp, but there was no inscription on the sides. The edges of these side and end tiles were turned square, near two inches broad, and projecting forward; I suppose, to make them close the nearer. Over these also were ridge tiles from the ground to the top of the sepulchre, to keep the water from falling into it. Sideways they were narrower than those on the ridge.

THIS tomb was about three feet six inches and three quarters of an inch in length within. Within it were found several urns containing some ashes and earth. One (fig. 4.) is nearly entire, and of a bluish colour, and was covered with a blue or bluish slate (fig. 5.). Another urn (fig. 6.) was of a red colour, and larger than the first. There were also broken pieces of two other urns, (fig. 7.) all standing upon a tiled pavement. At the bottom of the sepulchre there was also found part of another red vessel. Part of the os humeri, and the lower jaw bone with all its teeth perfect, were also found.

IN the same piece of ground, not far from this tomb, were found two Roman coins; on one IMP. VESPATIANVS. AVG. COSS. IIII. on the reverse PAX. AVG. S. C. struck A. D. 72, or 74. On the other was IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. COSS. XIII. CENS. PERP. P. P. PVBLICAE. on the reverse FIDES. S. C. a woman standing, holding in her right hand some ears of corn and poppies, in her left, a patera; struck A. D. 83, or 85.

NEAR this place was also found a silver ring seal, weighing seven pennyweights, making the impression or seal, fig. 8.

TOWARDS the end of the year 1769, Francis Smith, of New-building, Esq; having obtained permission, made a strict search, and collected so many other parts of this sepulchre, that, when properly placed, shewed the form as represented in the plate; the remaining parts were all thrown into the roads as rubbish, and broke to pieces [a].

THIS

[a] Several such tombs were found about 1720 at Strasbourg, formed of eight tiles, each one foot nine inches and a half, by sixteen inches and a quarter thick, with a ridge at their two extremities, and each inscribed L. E. G. VIII. A. V. G. Within these tombs was an urn containing some bones, and some glass and earthen lacrymatories and lamps: one of the glass vessels had on the foot a figure of Victory, writing

THIS ninth legion, we find by bricks and tiles found in and near this city, was styled LEG. IX. HIS. and LEG. IX. VIC. [b]. Which of these titles were first given to this legion, I think, will bear no dispute; for, although I do not remember to have read when it was raised, nor its destination to go to Spain, yet I find Julius Caesar, when governor of Illyria and Gaul, in his first consulship, anno ante Christum 57, had this legion with him in Gaul, and had then a great opinion of their bravery: for he says [c], "Omnibus rebus inserviendum statuit, quo celerius hostes, contempta suorum paucitate, prodirent in aciem: singularis enim virtutis veteranis legiones VII, VIII, et IX habebat, summae spei, delectaeque juventutis XI—Si forte hostes III legionum numero posset elicere ad dimicandum, agminis ordinem ita constituit, ut legio VII, VIII, et IX, ante omnia irent impedimenta; &c." Whether Caesar took this legion with him, when, in the following year, he invaded Britain, has not occurred to me. But that it was in Spain, and had behaved well there, I doubt not; whence it was called *legio nona Hispanica*, or *Hispaniensis*. When it was first called *legio nona Victrix*, I know not; for both the 6th and the 20th legions had the same title also. Admitting that it had the title only from being incorporated with the 6th legion, called *Victrix*, yet the old soldiers might retain the name of the ninth, viz. *legio nona Hispanica*. This might possibly be the case, says Horsley [d], till the first set that was incorporated was worn out, after which every one used only the name of the 6th legion, as it is in all other inscriptions in Britain, where this legion is named, and also in the No-

writing on a shield, V. P. i. e. *vota publica*, with the legend *Gloria Augustorum*. Mr. Schoepflin understands these *Augusti* of Marcus Aurelius and Aurelius Verus, to whose time he fixes these tombs, belonging to the 8th Legio Augusta which gave its name to Argentoratum or Strasbourg according to Ptolemy. See Schoepflin's *Alsacia Illustrata*, p. 509. R. G.

[b] Thoresby, Ducat. Leodiensis, p. 562, 563.

[c] Caesar Comment. Lib. VIII. cap. 78.

[d] Britan. Roman. p. 80.

titia. Hence it is pretty evident that the title *legio nona Hispanica* is much more ancient here, than *legio nona Victrix*; more especially if we consider that the *legio sexta Victrix* did not come into Britain till Hadrian's time, who began his reign A. D. 117, and Horsley tells us [e], that the *legio sexta Victrix* came over in Hadrian's reign, if not at the same time with himself; and Tacitus [f] informs us, that Claudius, who began his reign A. D. 41, sent over legions and auxiliaries; and in A. D. 43 came over himself, in his third consulate, to reduce Britain [g]; so that the *legio nona* was in Britain about 74 years before the *legio sexta Victrix* arrived in this island, and consequently the *legio nona Hispanica* was a title prior in Britain, to *legio nona Victrix*.

THE incorporating the *legio nona* with the *legio sexta Victrix* is very probable; for we find that the foot of the ninth legion were mostly cut in pieces by the forces of queen Boadicea, about A. D. 65, when near 70,000 of the Romans were slain; but it was recruited with 2000 soldiers, and probably with eight auxiliary cohorts [h], sent over from Germany; but being attacked again by the Caledonians, about the time of Vespasian's death, as being the weakest legion, when Julius Agricola was Proprætor and Legate here [i], which was from A. D. 78 to 84 inclusive, they were again great sufferers, being most of them killed.

HENCE it seems they were yet called the *legio nona Hispanica*, as the *legio sexta Victrix* did not arrive in Britain till many years after.

FROM what is said above, I think there is no doubt but the ashes found in the sepulchre belonged to some person or persons of consequence.

JOHN BURTON, M. D. S. A. S.

[e] Britan. Roman. p. 51.

[f] Vit. Agricol. cap. 13. Horsley's Brit. Rom. p. 21.

[g] Dio, Lib. LX. p. 677.

[h] Horsley's Brit. Rom. p. 80. Isaacson's Chron. p. 189.

[i] Tacitus, Annal. Lib. XIV. cap. 38.

XXVII. *Extract of two Letters from Dr. John Burton, of York, to Dr. Ducarel, concerning Roman Antiquities discovered in Yorkshire, 1770.*

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, November 15, 1770.

SINCE the consular coin of Marius was found, there have been other Roman coins dug up near the same place. Lately also several urns and Roman coins, about three miles east by north of Horden. Also in digging lately about a mile south of York for gravel, many pieces of urns were found, some of a beautiful red clay; some were impressed with letters. Mr. Smithe, of New Buildings, near Thirsk, is very assiduous in searching after Roman antiquities, and takes great pleasure in collecting them. Last summer, in digging for gravel near Huddersfield, in the West Riding, several urns were found with coins in them.

IN the third week in March last, some workmen digging to make a drain from the north end of Dowgate, in this city, towards the corner of Lendal-street, about seven feet below the surface of the present street, came to the foundation of three walls or buttresses, lying from N. E. to S. W. by S. The breadth of the foundation next to Lendal was 9 feet 6 inches, and the other two were 11 feet 6 inches each. They were composed of cobbles, so strongly cemented that no iron tool could separate them, till large fires were made upon them to burn the cement; and even then it was with great difficulty that they cut off about
2 feet

2 feet depth of them with iron wedges ; but how much lower these foundations went, we are not likely to know.

THE space between each wall was 3 feet and a half, which was filled with clay, and seems to have been tempered and close rammed. These walls are supposed to have been built by the Romans, to prevent the river Ouse from overflowing that part of the city adjoining to it ; and what strengthens this opinion is, that between them and the river the ground has been raised greatly ; a regular pavement having been found from 5 to 7 feet deep below the present surface. From this drain, the walls seem to cross in a line, where the river now runs obliquely through Coney-street, S. W. by W.

HAVING heard that a Roman pottery was discovered about a mile and a half south of York, near Middlethorp, I went with a friend to examine the premises, and found as follows. The soil at and near the surface was a rich brown corn mould soil ; under that lay many fragments of Roman urns, and other earthen ware of a large size ; under this stratum, a bed of fine gravel for the turnpike road, above a foot thick. Some of the fragments of these urns are of a beautiful red clay, but no whole urn has yet been found.

SECOND LETTER.

HAVING made application to the Lord of the manor of Middlethorpe for leave to dig in search of Roman urns, &c. my friend, Mr. Smith, employed four men for two days last week in digging for that purpose, he attending all the time. No coins were found ; one urn was whole, and almost full of earth, which we took out, but found neither coins nor bones in it. In digging the earth we observed visible tokens of fire, there being no less than three strata of burnt earth, and 2 feet of earth and gravel

gravel betwixt each stratum, with various pieces of urns of different kinds of clay, and of many sorts of vessels, some of them of the most beautiful red colour. Out of these fragments joined, we formed two bowls, that seemed capable of containing two quarts each, the outsides ornamented with raised work, representing various sorts of animals, as lions, foxes, cranes, and even men and women. At the bottom of the inside of some of the urns, or paterae, were stamped the names of persons. On one side is C. A V L. the remainder is lost. The letters were cut on the stamp as they should be read on the vessel, by which means they are reverfed. There are two pieces which have an entire name upon them.

York, April 24, 1770.

**XXVIII. *The Construction of the old Wall at Verulam.
The Roman Bricks compared with the Modern, &c.
In a Letter to Bishop Lyttelton. By Mr. Webster.***

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, June 2, 1768.

MY LORD,

I TAKE the liberty of laying before your Lordship the following short paper, which, if you approve of it, may be laid before your Society.

I am, my Lord,

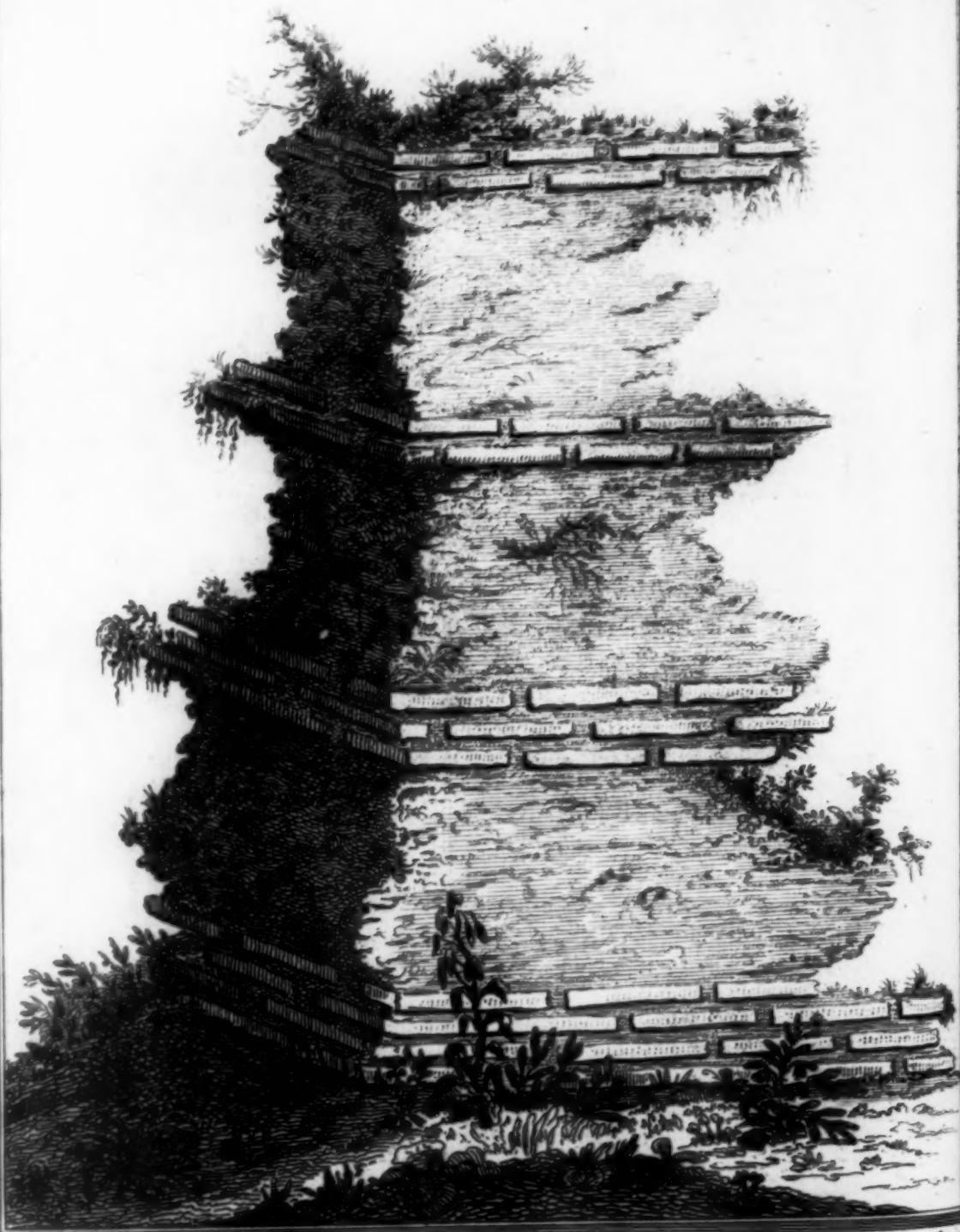
Your Lordship's

Most obedient servant,

J. WEBSTER.

own-street, Westminster, May 5, 1768.

IN this wall, which went nearly round the city, the Roman bricks are interlayed in separate courses between layers of flints. The quantity of mortar between the bricks is nearly equal to the thickness of the bricks themselves. Four layers were discernible; the lowest tier had four bricks, the next three, and the two uppermost had each of them two. The distances between the courses of bricks, which were filled up with flint and mortar, were two feet and eight inches. The bricks were an inch and an half, or an inch and a quarter thick; their lengths were from 12 to 18 inches, viz. 12, 16, 17 and 18 inches. Having no authority to pull down the wall, their depth could not be measured.



It appears from hence, that the Romans had no exact moulds for their bricks when this wall was built. The accounts given by other modern authors confirm the same suspicion, as may be seen in the following table :

	Long	Broad	Thick
Dr. Lister at York [a],	17 inches	11 inches	2½ inches
Mr. Thoresby, in the sides of the Hypogaeum at York [b],	8	8	2
— coverings in the Hypogaeum at Kirkstall abbey,	16	8	
Dr. Stukeley at Kentchester [c],	7	7	1
— others,	24	24	3
— near Ickleton,	14½	9	
— at Lincoln,	12	7	
— at Verolam,	18		3½
— another,	23		3
My measure at Verolam,	12		3
— another,	16		1½
— another,	17		1½
— another,	18		1½

THE antients themselves do not agree about the exact standard or measurement of the Roman bricks. Vitruvius informs us, that three sorts of bricks were in use in his time; the *Didorus*, which was one foot long and half a foot broad; the *Tetradorus* and *Pentadorus*, used chiefly by the Greeks. Besides these, there were bricks of half these sizes. He makes the *Dorus* to be a palm [d].

PLINY copies from Vitruvius, yet he gives an account a little different; that there were three sorts of bricks, the *Lydon*, used by the Romans, which were one foot and a half long, and one foot broad. He mentions also the *Tetradorus* and *Pentadorus*; and

[a] Lowthorpe, Abridg. of Phil. Transact. iii. 419.

[b] Ibid. iii. 421.

[c] Itiner. p. 66.

[d] Vitruv. i. ii. c. 3.

that the *Dorus* was a palm [e]. But whether *Didorus* should be read in Vitruvius *Tridorus*; whether *Lydion* is the same with *Didorus*, and whether the *Palmas* be the major or minor, are enquiries not proper for the present purpose. However, it ought to be a serious admonition to Antiquaries, not to be too positive in their decisions.

It may be observed, that in Vitruvius's time the Romans made use of such materials in their buildings as the country afforded; such as square stones, or flints, or cement, or burnt bricks, or those dried in the sun.

As the modern manner of making bricks has been a general subject of conversation, it was thought not improper to examine and compare the Roman and English bricks in the following manner.

A. a piece of Roman Brick from Verolam, which had a red outward coat, but black within.

B. a piece of Roman brick that was red through the whole.

C. a piece of English brick taken out of the cellars of houses in St. Giles's, London, built about 150 years ago.

D. a piece of brick just brought from the kiln in 1767.

THE two first A. and B. were broken with difficulty. C. was broken more easily, and D. very easily.

THE difference of their specific gravities may be seen in the following table:

A 24,5 : 54,5 : : 1,000 : 0,2224.

B 45,5 : 59,5 : : 1,000 : 0,2215.

C 32,5 : 62,5 : : 1,000 : 0,0195.

D 40,5 : 81,5 : : 1,000 : 0,2012.

THE reason why D. had so great a specific gravity was because it was but slightly burnt.

[e] Nat. Hist. ed. Hard. vol. ii. p. 714.

IN order to make a further enquiry into the difference between the modern and ancient bricks, I was willing to examine their porousness.

A. before it was immerfed in water, weighed 54 grains and a half; after immersion, it weighed 56 grains and a half; it therefore contained only two grains of water.

B. dry weighed 56 grains and a half, wet 60 grains and a half; so it contained 4 grains of water.

C. dry weighed 62 grains and a half, wet 71 grains, and contained 8 grains and a half of water.

D. dry weighed 81 grains and a half, wet 97 grains and a half; and contained 16 grains of water.

HENCE the pores in A. were one part in 27,2; in B. one part in 14,1; in C. one part 7,3; in D. one part in 5,9. This shews how much the pores in bricks are increased upon us, and consequently of how much less service and durability. This account, when seriously considered, affords but a melancholy prospect to those who are expending vast sums of money in new buildings, when they reflect upon the badness of this principal article, which, in a few years, must consequently moulder away into its original rubbish.

ALL the Roman bricks in the old wall at Verolam are of two sorts; the red are of a fine colour and close texture, which probably were baked in the sun; the others have a red case over a black vitrified substance, which were most certainly burnt in fire. The black part resists a file, and will bear a fine polish. The first sort was called by the Romans *crudus*, the second *coctus* [f],

[f] Vitruv. l. ii. c. 3. Plin. Nat. Hist. ed. Hard, vol. I. p. 22.

XXIX. *Conjectures on an antient Tomb in Salisbury Cathedral.* By Mr. Gough.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Feb. 22, 1770.

ON the south side of the nave of Salisbury cathedral, under the fourth arch from the west, lies a monument of blue speckled marble, with the figure of a bishop in pontificalibus, his right hand lifted up to give the blessing, his left hand holding the crozier [a]. On the perpendicular sides or edge all round is cut an inscription in large capitals; and on the front of the robe, another in letters somewhat similar. The slab lay so deeply bedded in the stone foundation on which the pillars of the nave rest, that the first of these inscriptions had intirely escaped the notice of the curious, or if any had noticed it, the lower half of the letters being out of sight, rendered it unintelligible. Last summer I procured it to be raised, and the pavement disposed round it in such a manner, that it can henceforth receive no injury, but will remain the second oldest monument in that church, if the conjectures I have formed upon it are founded in truth.

LETTERS of the form here represented appear to have been in use among the Romans. On an altar dedicated to Mercury, found at Middleby in Scotland, and whose æra is by Baron Clerk [b] fixed to the time of Julian, we see several letters included in larger ones. But they are more common in the Gothic ages. Our own country affords three instances.

THE first is an inscription on a leaden plate found in Lincolnminster, published by Sir William Dugdale [c], and again, with some inconsiderable difference, from Dr. Smith's papers, by

[a] See Plate xiii. fig. 1. It somewhat resembles the figure of bishop Leodegarus in Montfaucon's Mon. de la Monarch. Franc. l. 31.

[b] Horsley, Brit. Rom. p. 355 Scot. xxxv. On the military monuments at Bonne, Phil. Transf. LIX. p. 195. Acta Acad. Palat. III. 56.

[c] Baron. vol. l. p. 386.

SIS. IVSTITE P

FLENHODE SAESBIEQA DEDTEN

✠

MA. RELVIT.

TILT DCTBTARR

Fig. 5

TOA DIHPRRD ✠

Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 1.

FLEHODE SALESBIEN QADCDTE
 SIS. IVSTITE PAT. ECCL^E: SALESBIENSIS: DVM. VIGVIT. MISERO. ALIT. FASTS. C
 APPROPRIEM DIVINIES IN IDEM
 NOBILIB. PMORDADVXIT. PRINCPB. PROPE QITB. QI. GEMA. RELVXIT.

Fig. 6

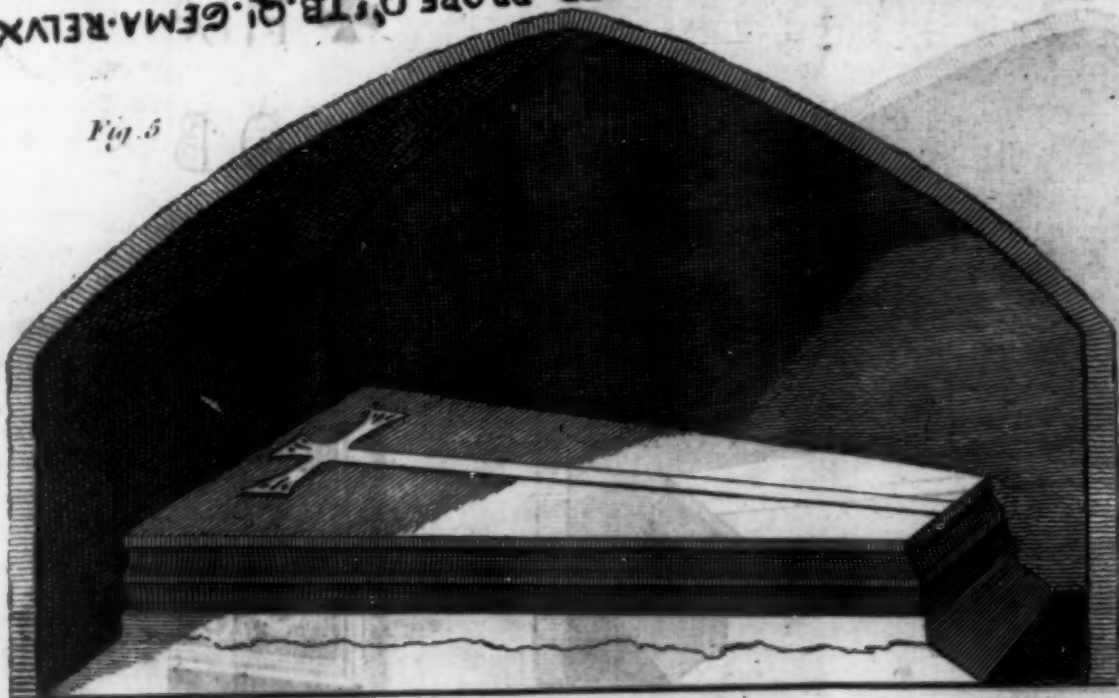


Fig. 3.



Fig. 2

✠ HIA^E TILT^D DCT^B TARR^R
QB^U A DI^H PPR^D ✠



Fig. 4.

Mr. Hearne, at the end of his preface to Trivet's Annals [d]. It commemorates William D'Eincourt, who died in the court of William Rufus, 3 kal. Nov. between 1087 and 1100, and of whom see vol. I. p. 32.

THE second is the epitaph of Ilbertus de Chaz, in the ruins of Monkton Farleigh priory, Wilts, communicated to this Society 1744 by Dr. Ducarel from Mr. Evatts of Chippenham. It is printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1744, and corrected in that for the following month. The letters and style correspond with this at Salisbury more than that at Lincoln. Ilbertus was a witness to the foundation charter of Humphrey de Bohun, the second of that name, who lived about the middle of the twelfth century, and still nearer the time of our monument [e].

THE third is an inscription of uncertain date, found in taking down the steeple of St. George's church, Southwark, 1733, communicated to this Society by Mr. Frederic, 1734, and Mr. Ames, 1737, and here engraved from their Minutes [f].

I MAKE no doubt but many more might be found among us on an attentive search.

THE instances of this kind that occur in France are of more ancient date. These are the inscriptions on the reliques belonging to the cathedral of Clermont, and the epitaph of Pope Genesius in the church dedicated to him in that city; the former of the 7th, and the latter of the 8th century [g].

Sir William Dugdale [h] calls these letters Saxon capitals. They are rather a mixture of Saxon and Roman. In the Lincoln inscription, only the A, L, and h, are strictly Saxon. All the rest are made up of mixed, rude letters, which varied according to the capacity and skill of the carver, and alphabets of which I place among the desiderata of Antiquarian Science.

[d] N^o iv. p. 26.

[e] Tan. Not. Mon. 556. Dugd. Mon. Ang. I. 620, 621. Upon enquiry, in 1772, after this curious monument in order to verify it, I had the mortification to learn that it had lately been broken to pieces to mend the roads. I have since heard it is preserved at Laſocke, but have not been able to procure a copy of it. I have therefore caused the Mag. zine copy, such as it is, to be inserted in the annexed plate, fig. 2.

[f] Pl. xiii. fig. 3.

[g] See Monf. Lancelot's Memoirs on these two inscriptions, in Mem. de l'Acad. des Ins. vol. xii. p. 264. 12mo.

[h] Loc. cit.

I READ

I READ the inscription under consideration, as follows :

" Flent hodie Salesberie quia decidit ensis

" Justitie, pater ecclesie Salisbirienfis.

" Dum viguit, miseros aluit, fastusque potentum

" Non timuit, sed clava fuit terrorque nocentum.

" De ducibus, de nobilibus primordia duxit

" Principibus, propeque tibi qui gemma reluxit."

THE line on his robe, with Leland, [1].

" Affer opem, devenies in idem."

HAVING premised thus much on the form and style of this monument, it is time to ascertain the person it commemorates.

I PRESUME then that it belongs to Roger, the third bishop of Salisbury after the removal of the see from Sherborn to Old Sarum; and that it was composed for him, after the translation of his corpse to the new church. This prelate, promoted to all the highest offices of the state by Henry I. was a simple mass priest of a church in the suburbs of Caen, where that prince chanced to turn in with his officers to perform his devotions, during his war with his brother William Rufus. The dispatch with which Roger went through the offices was his recommendation as a proper chaplain for the troops; and he readily closed in with Henry's order, between jest and earnest, to attend him. His artful and insinuating behaviour soon won upon his patron, whose favour he perfectly knew how to improve. Malmesbury says, his prudent management of Henry's scanty finances was his chief merit; and the king afterwards amply repaid him what his oeconomy had saved for him while only earl of Anjou [2]. His first preferment, on his patron's accession to the throne, was the chancellorship, which was but a step to the see of Salisbury, to which he was elected in 1102, and consecrated five years after. During the king's long and frequent absences in Normandy for three or

[1] Itin. vol. III. f. 64. p. 91. last edit. This was the only inscription that diligent Antiquary observed on this monument. He places the two bishops of Old Sarum in the North isle. *In Bor. insula navis eccl' sepulchra duorum episcoporum, ut autumant, veteris Sarum.*

[2] Hist. Nov. L. II. f. 104. See Godwin de Praef. ed. Richardson, p. 337, 338.
four

four years together, he acted as regent of the kingdom; and in all the departments he was concerned in, he acquitted himself with a diligence and uprightness, that left no room for malicious reflections. "Ante regnum, omnibus suis prefecerat rex, "primum cancellarium, mox episcopum constituerat; prudentiam viri expertus, solerter administrati episcopatus officium "spem infudit quod majore dignus haberetur munere. Itaque "totius regni moderamen illius delegavit justitiae, sive ipse adesset Angliae, sive moraretur Normaniae. Sategit ita fieri Henricus, non nescius quod fideliter sua tractaret commoda Rogerus: nec defuit ille spei regiae, sed tanta integritate, tanta se agebat industria, ut nulla contra eum conflaretur invidia.—Inter haec ecclesiastica officia non negligere.—Pontifex magnanimus, et nullis unquam parcens sumptibus, dum quae facienda proponeret, edificia praesertim consummaret [f]." Such is Malmesbury's account of this prelate, which I have cited the more at large, in order to justify my future conjectures.

THE buildings referred to were the castles of Devizes, Sherborn, Malmesbury, and Sarum; the first the wonder of Europe, the others not much inferior to it; the stones so neatly jointed together as to appear like one single mass. As to the cathedral of Salisbury, the same author [m] says, he *rebuilt* it; or, as bishop Godwin understands the words *novam fecit*, laid out incredible sums in carrying on and decorating it in a most sumptuous manner: for though the foundation had been laid about fifty years before, it had suffered much by lightning immediately after its dedication, A. D. 1092. He endowed two religious foundations, at Dorchester in Oxfordshire, and at Kidwelly in South Wales; and, though no scholar himself, settled at St. Frideswide's, Oxford, a convent of regular Canons, under Guimond, a learned clerk, and chaplain to Henry I.

SUCH was the prosperous situation of our prelate under this prince; in which there is every thing to justify the elogia which compose his epitaph. His great influence with his sovereign, and his mutual esteem for him, is recorded in the words, *Prin-*

[f] Malmib. de Henrico I. Lib. v. f. 91.

[m] Loc. cit.

cipibus gemma reluxit. His administration of justice intitled him to the name of *Ensis justitiæ*. His munificence to his infant church, to that of *Pater ecclesiae Salisburiensis*. His impregnable fortifications, as well as his irreproachable conduct, made that *non timuit fastus potentum*; as his high rank in the state made him *Clava terrorque nocentum*. We are to presume, that with his great wealth *miseros aluit* (not to mention his religious foundations), and considering what a reverse he underwent in the next reign, *dum vixit* is not without its meaning. The words inscribed on the front of his robe more strongly mark the distresses of this prelate's declining age. *Affer opem, devenies in idem*, is an earnest address to the sympathy of the spectators, warning them at the same time of the uncertainty of human events. The conclusion *Propeque tibi gemma reluxit*, seems an address to the church, reminding her of the lustre he reflected on her while he presided as bishop in her former situation at Old Sarum. My only difficulty is about the noble descent ascribed to him in the words, *de ducibus, de nobilibus, primordia duxit*. But he may have been the younger son of some noble family in Normandy, which the Monks may have known from evidences not noticed by general historians, or they may have introduced it here for rhyme sake. Gervase de Blois, king Stephen's bastard, abbot of Westminster is styled in his epitaph *de regum genere*.

I WOULD draw a veil over the last and larger part of this bishop's life. The treacheries of the human heart and the cruel reverses of fortune are disagreeable subjects to insist upon, if they were not otherwise foreign to my design. He lived to sacrifice the interests of his patron's family to his own ambition and interest; and to be plundered by the usurper, whose cause he had espoused. After having seen his strongest castles surrendered before his face, and heard that the wealth he had devoted to the service of his church was carried off from the very altar, he died of a broken heart, in transports of the most violent distraction and disappointment, 1139; and so, says Neubrigensis [n], "*vi- tam longo tempore splendidissimam infelicissimo fine conclusit.*" But he died not unrevenge. The ingratitude with which Stephen repaid his obligation to our bishop, and the rest of the clergy, in-

[n] Lib. I. c. 6.

volved him the next year in a civil war, which ended in restoring the succession to its proper line.

THE only objection I know to my supposition that this tomb belongs to Bishop Roger, is, that none of the ancient historians who mention his death say where he was buried. Dr. Richardson [p] says he was buried in his own church; Browne Willis, in his short account of this church at the end of his *Mitred Abbeyes*, only tells us that he was removed hither; but neither of these writers produce their authorities [q]. In answer to this, it is to be considered that his predecessor Osmund's monument is evident in the Lady Chapel. Herman, the first bishop of Salisbury, answers to none of the characters in the inscription, being eminent for nothing but the removal of the see from Sherborn; and if, as is very probable, he was buried at Salisbury, I should rather give him the tomb at the head of this, which has the figure of a bishop in pontificalibus, with a crozier piercing a dragon, and a rude border of birds and foliage round him [r]; or that plain coffin-fashioned tomb, which lies more west of this. These three are the only bishops of Old Sarum who could possibly be buried there. The fourth and fifth were translated to Canterbury, and the last was buried at Wilton. All who sat in the new see, except one or two of less note in the 13th century, have well-known burial-places in the choir and presbytery, with monuments of a very different style. Bishop Poore, the founder of the present church, has a monument in the N. E. corner of the presbytery near bishop Audley's chapel and the high altar. Dr. Richardson says, he died at Tarrant Gunville, Dorset, and was buried here; and Mr. Willis, that he erected for himself a noble tomb here, but was buried, as most authors say, at Durham, where he sat nine years after his translation from hence. But neither of these writers give any authority for his burial or monument here; nor is he in Leland's list of the bishops buried here.

[p] Note on his life, by Godwin. The tomb which the vergers shew for his, is that in the north wall of the presbytery. See plate xiii. fig. 5. But this rather belongs to some earlier bishop of the new see.

[q] William de Wenda, who wrote the account of the building the present church, mentions the removal of only *three* bishops from old Sarum, in 1226. Osmund, Roger, and Joceline. Price's account of Salisbury cathedral, p. 15.

[r] See plate xiii. fig. 4.

XXX. *An Account of an Illuminated Manuscript in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. By the Reverend Mr. TYSON, Fellow of the said College.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Jan. 16, 23, 1772.

MR. VERTUE, in his account prefixed to the portraits of our kings, says, that “the picture of that most glorious prince, Henry V. is preserved in vellum MSS. of that time;” but does not inform us where he met with them. The accurate researches of an ingenious friend in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, have brought to light a very curious resemblance of that illustrious hero. The generality of illuminated portraits, it is true, are not greatly to be depended upon; they are frequently only the imaginary creatures of the illuminator, drawn with little skill or truth. The disposition of figures, the drawing, the colouring, of this miniature, all shew the hand of an abler master. It appears also, that the book in which this illumination is preserved was originally presented to the king himself, and was afterwards his property. This is another mark of the resemblance being genuine; for it cannot be supposed that the author would have presented the king with so laboured a miniature of his majesty, if he had not been able to procure a real likeness. Besides these proofs of its authenticity, the profile at Kensington, and the figure of the king in the historical picture belonging to Mr. West, are plainly intended for the same person represented in this MS; and no one has yet called in question the genuineness of the two former.

THE book, which is written on vellum, is a French translation of Cardinal Bonaventura's Life of Christ, by John Galopes, dean of the collegiate church of St. Louis of Salfoye, in Normandy. Immediately under the Illumination begins the prologue to the book.

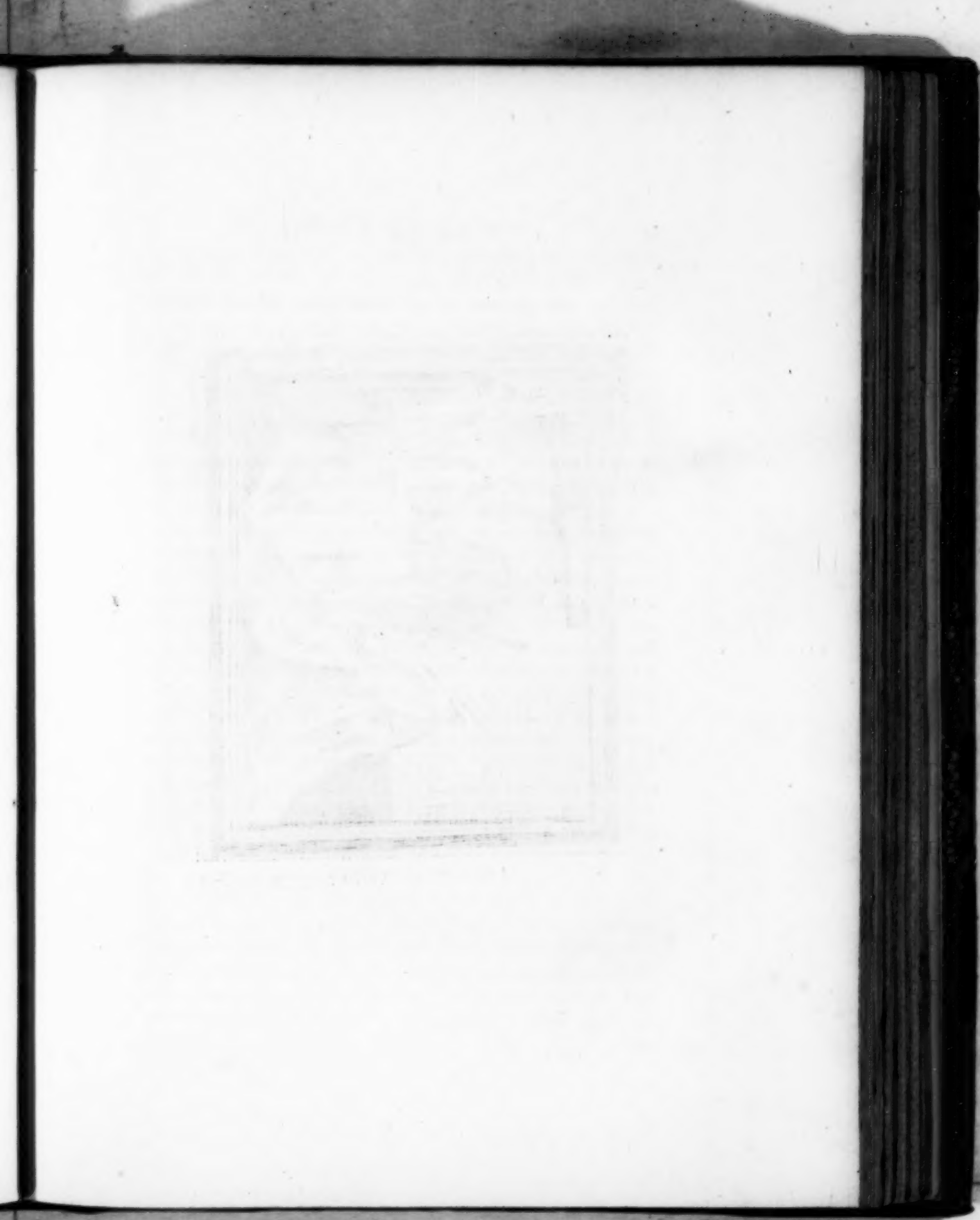


Plate XII. P. 195.

U. S. Government

“ Ci commence le livre dore, des meditations de la vie n're S.
“ Jhesu Christ selon Bonneaventure. Et primiement le prologue
“ du translateur.

“ A tres hault, tresfort et tresvictorieux prince Henry quint
“ de ce nom, par la grace de Dieu, et roy d'Angleterre, heretier
“ et regent de France, et Duc d'Irlande. Votre humble chape-
“ lain Jehan Galopes dit le galoys Doyen de leglise collegial
“ Monf. Saint Louys de la Sanlfoye au diocese d'Eureux en
“ votre Duchie de Normandie, et en la terre de la Conte de
“ Harcourt, appartenant a tres excellent et puissant prince et
“ mon cheir Seigür monseigneur le duc d'Excetre, votre beaux
“ oncles, honneur, obedience et subjection.”

THE king is seated on his throne, which is of azure blue, fringed with gold, and powdered with the gold text letter S. This may perhaps mean *Soverayne*, as that word appears frequently on the tomb of his father at Canterbury. On his head is a crown of nearly the same form as that on his great seal. His hair is dark brown, cut very close. His surcoat or outward vest is crimson, lined with white, with a falling collar of white. He appears to have an under-garment of green, which is discovered about his neck. He has a kind of collar of gold, and a girdle of the same round his waist; to which hang appendant four plates or medals. In his right hand he seems to hold a glove, and his left is supported on the arm of his chair of state [a]. By an opening of his surcoat, a leg in black appears, with the order of the garter under the knee; his feet rest on a red cushion ornamented with gold.

On his right-hand stand two ecclesiastics. He on the foreground holds in his hand a black cap, called *Mortier* by the French, and always worn by their chancellors and presidents à *mortier*. A learned friend, to whom I am much obliged for many hints which illustrate this painting, suspects it may be the famous Cardinal Lewis

[a] In the plate annexed the figures are inverted.

de Luxembourg, chancellor of France, afterwards bishop of Terouenne, and archbishop of Rouen, and perpetual administrator of the diocese of Ely. He died at Hatfield, Sept. 18, 1443, and was buried in the cathedral of Ely, where there still exists a very stately monument [b] for him, though much injured by the fanatics.

ON the other side of the king stands a courtier with a short coat of green, holding in his hand a mace of office. What is singular, the hose on his left leg is red, that on his right leg white. Had he any of the insignia of the Order of the Garter, one would have imagined him to have been intended for the duke of Exeter, mentioned in the prologue. He was the third son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. He signalized himself at the battle of Agincourt, leading on the rear of the victorious army: he defended Harfleur, and in a pitched battle encountered the earl of Armignac, and put him to flight.

BEFORE the king, in a kind of Doctor's robes of light purple, kneels John de Galopes, the translator, offering his book covered with crimson velvet. The back ground of the painting is adorned with a rich arras of blue and gold. The floor is a chequer-work of green, yellow, black, and white [c].

[b] It is engraved in Mr. Bentham's History of Ely, pl. xix. where see an account of him, p. 168—172.

[c] We have a similar instance of Jean de Melun presenting his translation of Boëtius de Consolatione to Philip le Bel, represented in a miniature prefixed to the prologue of that translation in MS. and engraved in Montfaucon's Mon. de la Monarch. de Franc. I. pl. xcv. The address is in the same style; "*A la Royale Majesté, tres noble prince, par la grace de Dieu, Roy des Francois, Philippes le quart, je Jehan de Meung, &c. envoïe ores Bœce de Consolation, que j'ai translaté en François, jacoit ce que entendez bien Latin.*" The king, royally habited, crowned with a crown like Henry's, sits on a throne, having, among three persons at his right hand, one in a black cap, and between three at his left, one bearing a mace, much like that in our miniature, but without a sword. The date of the French translation is a century prior to this. Philip de Bel died 1341. R. G.

IN the first page of the book some letters seem to have been erased, which probably might have been the king's name; for underneath is the following usual prayer for his soul;

Dieu par sa grace ait mercy de son ame.

Amen.

AT the end of the book, in a round hand of the time of Henry VIII, or queen Elizabeth, is written this entry;

This wasse sumtyme Kinge Henri the fifteth his booke; Which containeth the lyfe of Christ, and the psalmes of the patriarches, and prophetes; the psalmes of the prophet David omitted:

Mani excilent notes, thoubge some thinges waienge the tyme; may be amendid; Rede fudge and thank God for abetter light.

THE orthography and pointing of the MS. wherever it is quoted, are exactly followed.

XXXI. *Some Remarks on Mr. Walpole's Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard the Third, by Robert Masters, B. D. and Rector of Landbeach, in Cambridgeshire.*

Read at the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, Jan. 7 and 14, 1771.

WHEN Mr. *Walpole's* *Historic Doubts* were first published, I sat down with great eagerness to peruse what could be offered by an author of his acuteness upon so interesting an article in our English History. After examining the authors referred to as I went along, I made the following remarks, more for my own satisfaction, than with design of communicating them to the public; but as Dean Milles's ingenious Observations on the same subject have been read before the Society, and deservedly obtained a place amongst their Miscellaneous Tracts lately published, I take the liberty of laying these before them, with great deference to their judgement, as a supplement thereto, he having chosen to confine himself chiefly to the *Wardrobe Account*, which he has handled in so masterly a manner, as, in my opinion, intirely to overset all the arguments built upon it.

MR. Walpole, to whom the public are indebted for many ingenious performances, has, it must be owned, given a very modest title, that of *Historic Doubts*, to the tract now before us; and I was in hopes the book itself would have corresponded thereto; but how great was my disappointment, when, upon looking into it, I not only soon began to perceive all *doubting* laid aside, but found him above measure sanguine in asserting facts, against the common current of almost all the cotemporary historians, upon the
slightest

lightest evidence, which surely ought not to have been done but upon the most *convincing*: Such power hath an hypothesis once established to warp the best judgment, and to cause every thing to give way to a strong attachment thereto. I shall therefore take the liberty concisely to review his arguments, in the order he himself has pursued; in which I flatter myself I shall be able to point out some inaccuracies, as well as to shew the inconclusiveness of them.

THE first fact he takes upon him to call in question is the manner of the murder of Edward the son of Henry the Sixth, which Robert Fabian [a] the historian, who lived at the time, and was afterwards sheriff of London, relates to have been committed *by the king's servants*; by whom, I apprehend, he meant some of the lords, or great men standing about him; kings being usually attended by such, and not by common servants, upon occasions of state; at least, upon so considerable a one as that of the reception of a captive prince. And the Chronicle of Croyland asserts he was slain *ultracibus quorundam manibus*, by some who were eager of taking their revenge upon this occasion; which seems not at all inconsistent with Hall's relation, who makes the parties standing about the king to be George duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Gloucester, the marquis of Dorset, and lord Hastings [b]. Now the writer of the Continuation of the History of Croyland, who lived at the time, professes to relate facts with as much *brevity and sincerity* as possible; and being a doctor of the canon law, one of king Edward's council, who had been employed by him in an embassy abroad, and had entertained his majesty so much to his satisfaction at his monastery; he could not, one should imagine, be at all prejudiced against the House of York. So far from it, that he seems to palliate the king's faults as much as possible after his decease. And indeed when a writer, who could not be ignorant of what he writes, professes, as he does

[a] P. 4. Not *John*, as asserted p. 16. [b] Hist. of Edw. IV. fol. xxxii. b.

at the conclusion of his History of the reign of Richard III. that he had related only what *veritas gestorum se menti offerebat, sine ulla scita intermixtione mendacii, odii, aut favoris* [c]; he ought surely to be credited, without some very strong reasons to the contrary, notwithstanding the severe strictures thrown upon *Monkish* Historians. As to the phrase, *as some say*, made use of by Hall, that seems only to relate to the stroke of the king, and that whether given with the hand or the gauntlet; and not at all to the parties present. If, however, the duke of Gloucester had any share in this transaction, he could be but one amongst many, and therefore the whole of the guilt ought by no means to be placed to his account.

As to the second article, the murder of Henry VI. Fabian [d] says, it was commonly reported to be committed by the duke of Gloucester; whilst the continuator of the Chronicle of Croyland says only, *that his body was found lifeless in the Tower*; and then adds a prayer for the murderer, that whoever he was that dared to lay sacrilegious hands on the Lord's anointed, God would vouchsafe him time to repent. His suspicions, it must be owned, seem to run high in bestowing upon the assassin the name of *Tyrant*, and must reach to the duke, if not to the king, whose approbation thereof at least must be presumed. Hall's relation of this is probably grounded upon that of Fabian, only in other words, and more fully expressed [e]; which yet amounts to no more, than that it was the common report of those times, that he was stabbed by the duke of Gloucester; but as this transaction was designed to be as private as possible, it may be difficult to ascertain the particular mode of it. As it was however most certainly intended to prevent any future insurrections in favour of the House of Lancaster, he might, to make the crown sit more

[c] Ed. Gale, p. 57.

[d] P. 7.

[e] P. 9.

easy upon his brother's head (supposing him then not to have formed any projects for himself) have undertaken this, for ought I can see to the contrary, without that inconsistency of character his apologist would insinuate. Not that I mean hereby to assert the fact clearly proved upon him; or that the murder might not be committed by the direction of his brother, whose interest was undoubtedly more immediately concerned.

THE next charge upon him, is that of *the murder of his brother Clarence* [f]; but as none of the historians quoted by Mr. Walpole do positively assert this, so neither do I find (as he would seem to insinuate) any thing in them concerning his opposing or openly resisting it; and indeed had he attempted any such thing, the strong evidence made use of for his acquittal [g] would be directly superseded, viz. the king's assertion that no man would intercede for him. Nor is it at all likely, when their quarrels ran so high, about the division of their wives inheritance, that Richard should undertake that friendly office.

BUT the grand charge against him, is that of *the murder of his two nephews* [h]. In order to exculpate him from which, our author seems to have exerted his utmost abilities, and taken uncommon liberties with the characters of those who have wrote before him on the same subject; more so perhaps than is strictly allowable, or than might have been expected from a gentleman of his character and station, had they not interfered with his favourite hypothesis; which, as I observed before, is apt to make a writer labour hard to bring every thing to a conformity therewith. To what purpose else is *Fabian's* narrative termed *dry*, *uncircumstantial*, and *unimportant* [i]; when only a simple fact is to be ascertained, which may as well be done in the plainest terms, and perhaps more satisfactorily, than in the more flowing periods of our modern writers? The authority of Sir *Thomas More* (from whom most of the subsequent historians have bor-

[f] P. 10.

[g] P. 14.

[h] P. 14.

[i] P. 16.

rowed their materials) is next to be lowered [k], by representing him in a different light, as too great an orator to attend the facts, as a person that could not be furnished with materials from good authority, nor of an age to give a proper representation of what he had collected from his patron archbishop *Morton* (who yet from his situation must have been as well acquainted with those transactions as any one) and others who have lived throughout the times whereof he wrote, because he was but twenty years old when the archbishop died, and but twenty-eight when he compiled his history. It happens however luckily enough, that he was out of favour at court when he undertook this work, so that he was under the less temptation to flatter the Lancastrian cause. But to imagine that he wrote this, as he did his *Utopia*, merely to amuse himself, and to exercise his fancy, is surely a very strange conjecture, and quite inconsistent with the character before given of him, as being "one of the honestest statesmen and brightest names in our annals."

AFTER having thus stigmatized Sir Thomas, and taxed his patron archbishop Morton with violating his allegiance, which, as he was clapped up into prison before Richard was crowned, and was never at liberty till he obtained it by flight, it is most probable he never swore to [l], and having thrown out some slighter reflections upon other writers of the same period [m], Mr. W. comes to the story of Edward the Fifth, as related by the former, who character we have already spoken to. And here, in the entrance upon it [n], he imagines there was more plotting than could possibly be carried on within the compass of time allotted for it, by reason of there being then only special messengers employed, and that too in bad roads, and without post-horses; whereas if he had turned to p. 571, of the History of the Monk of Croyland, he would there have found a method, made use of by the late king in the last Scotch war, of conveying

[k] P. 17. [l] Bentham's Hist. of Ely, p. 180. [m] P. 20. [n] P. 23.
5 letters

letters two hundred miles in two days, as quick at least as they are now usually conveyed with all the convenience of turnpike roads, posts, &c. The way was to place a running footman at every twenty miles, and so to convey letters from one to another. This way the duke of Gloucester, then returning from the north, could not be unacquainted with; and indeed, as the same author informs us, it was actually made use of afterwards to get intelligence of the motions of the duke of Richmond and his adherents. Should it be allowed, that the queen and her relations intended to have got the young king into their power, and to have had the sole management of him (which is barely conjecture), and that the duke of Gloucester and the old nobility had just reason to be apprehensive of this, and that therefore their taking measures for the prevention thereof, might be allowable [o], yet the seizing and imprisoning the heads of the other party and bringing the king up to town as a captive, were surely such as can no way be justified; not even if they had taken up arms for their defence. But when all might have been quiet, and their favourite point of the duke's being declared proctor, with the consent of the lords, was fully settled [p]; what but that violent ambition of reigning could induce him to sacrifice his friend the Lord Hastings, who had sided with him in every thing, except that of his attachment to King Edward's children, after having ordered the execution of the queen's relations in the most arbitrary manner, at the same time? The soothing letters he wrote to the queen from York, when setting out from thence to overturn all her measures, and the stratagems afterwards devised to draw her other son out of the sanctuary at Westminster [q], and to get him likewise into his power, are sufficient intimations of his pre-conceived scheme; and previous steps to opening the grand scene of setting aside his nephews, and taking

[o] P. 25. 26, 27.

[p] P. 34. 35.

[q] P. 35.

possession of the throne himself; which, whether attempted to be effected by bastarding his deceased brothers, or those living nephews, is not material to enquire after: the latter however seems to be the most probable, as it agrees with the Parliament Roll, and with the relation of this transaction by the historian of Croyland, who informs us, that the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, after having got together a large force from the North, Wales, and other parts, pretending to bring with them a petition (although in reality drawn up in London), setting forth, That whereas the children of Edward IV. were bastards, by reason of his pre-contract with Elianor Buller, before his marriage with the queen, and by reason of the attainder of the duke of Clarence and his issue, there was no certain and uncorrupt blood of Richard duke of York, but in the person of the duke of Gloucester; he was therefore desired by the lords and community of the realm (not the three estates assembled in parliament) to assume his right, and to take upon him the crown, as he accordingly did on the 26th of June, and was actually crowned on the 6th of July 1483 [r].

Our apologist, having advanced thus far, seems to plume himself in his *new and wonderful discoveries* [s], particularly in that of the *Parliament Roll*, confirming the above account of Lady Butler; whereas that roll was printed at length more than a century and an half since in Speed's History, and in Sir Robert Cotton's Parliamentary Records (published by Prynne) a hundred years ago; from whence the copy in the Parliamentary History was taken; and Speed is there referred to for a translation of the Roll [t]. It was indeed rather unlucky, that neither of these should have fallen in his way; since it must be owned they do at least assert the pre-contract, if not her mar-

[r] P. 43. Blanks were left for the dates in the first edition of Sir Thomas More's Works, 1557.

[s] P. 48.

[t] P. 9, 11, &c.

riage with the king. But it ought to be here observed, that the evidence of both the one and the other depends entirely upon the veracity of Dr. Robert Shillington, bishop of Bath, who is known to have been not a little irritated against King Edward, and therefore the more ready to assert any thing to the prejudice of his family. Besides, as he does not expressly mention the name of the lady, it might as well have been Lucy as Butler, who might have been seduced by his majesty in the manner related by Sir Thomas More. But allowing it to have been the latter, she seems to have given up all claim to such a contract, by retiring into a monastery, and devoting herself to religion; as I am persuaded she did, from an instrument now in being, wherein she is styled, *famosa ac Deo devota Eleonora Botelar* [u]. Buck says, the king had a child by her; and that his marriage with Lady Gray cast her into so perplexed a melancholy, that she spent herself in a solitary life ever after, which agrees very well with the above account. Now if this retiring from the world did not take place before the king's marriage (May 1, 1464), it could not in all probability be long after, since she died (most likely of a broken heart upon this disappointment) on the 30th of July, 1466, and was buried in the Carmelites church at Norwich [x]. And if she was dead, as she certainly was, long before the birth of Edward V. [y] this could not surely be a proper foundation for his illegitimacy, although the parliament, who wanted some pretence to shew their complaisance to their new sovereign, were pleased to declare it so; as they have often done both before and since on the like occasions, to gratify the humours of their sovereigns.

[u] By which she became a benefactress to Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, as she was likewise to the university. [x] Weever, 805. [y] 1470, or 1471.

MR. Walpole, misled by his friend Buck, to magnify this lady's descent, is pleased to style her the daughter of *Catharine Stafford*, daughter to the duke of Buckingham, of the Blood Royal [z]; whereas lady Catharine married her father's grandson, the third earl of Shrewsbury, a minor in the reign of Edward IV.; whilst she was descended from the famous John Talbot, first earl of Shrewsbury, by his second wife Margaret, one of the daughters and coheiresses of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, half sister to the second earl of Shrewsbury by the first wife, and sister to Elizabeth, wife of John lord Mowbray [a], the last duke of Norfolk of that family, and then the widow of Sir Thomas Boteler, knt. son and heir of Ralph lord Sudley, who, dying in the life time of his father, never enjoyed the title.

DR. Stillington, who had before been keeper of the Privy Seal to Edward IV. being privy to this transaction with lady Boteler, which was probably no more than a promise of marriage, whereby he might seduce her, was soon after made bishop of Bath and chancellor, and was much employed, and continued in high favour with the king for many years, till at length he fell under his displeasure; whether by not succeeding in his disgraceful embassy to the duke of Bretagne, for delivering up Henry earl of Richmond, or on what other account [b] I know not. It appears, however, from those who have wrote concerning him, that he was a time-serving prelate, and kept revenge in his mind twenty years, acted the part of a pimp to king Edward, whose designs upon the lady he could not be unacquainted with; ready to do or say any thing he was ordered by his successor, and at length died, as he deserved, in prison, for supporting that impostor Lam-

[z] P. 41.

[a] She was executrix to lady Boteler, and living in 1495.

[b] See Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 574. Complete Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 562. 565; and the translation of honest Philip de Comines Hist. book v. p. 522. vi. p. 606.

bert Simnel. We find he had a son who was to have been rewarded for his father's good offices to king Richard in making this discovery, had he not been taken prisoner by the French, and starved to death in his confinement. The story that Buck tells of his incurring king Edward's displeasure by discovering this secret, must be without foundation, since the lady's father, and probably her mother too, as well she herself, had been dead many years before this discovery is pretended to be made, and yet they are all represented as parties concerned therein, which strongly points out the disingenuity of such partial historians. Besides, the Shrewsbury family must all along have been upon the best terms with king Edward; otherwise he would never have affianced his second son, the duke of York, to Anne, the daughter of the dutchess of Norfolk, the heiress of that house and the honours thereto belonging, when both parties were about the age of six years; and so that family could not possibly be interested in his destruction [c].

THE sudden attack upon lord Hastings has all the appearance of a designed plot against him, for not concurring with others in placing the crown upon the head of the duke of Gloucester. As they could not bring him over to join with them, they resolved to cut him off, as being a person of great power and popularity [d]. He had hitherto, very consistently with his character, opposed the designs of the queen, and assisted in making the duke protector of the realm, which was all that he thought he could justly claim; but when he found he had farther designs, which his attachment to his old master's family would not suffer him to approve of, it is no wonder he should be disposed to withdraw from such measures; nor that those, who were resolved to carry them into execution at all events, should make such an unsuspected attempt upon him. As it is said he had an affection for Jane Shore during the life of king Edward, I see no sort of improbability in his tak-

[c] See *Parl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 353.

[d] P. 467.

ing her under his protection immediately after the king's death; nor any sort of inconsistency in the marquis of Dorset's afterwards doing the same upon lord Hastings' decease. Nor does it seem to me at all incredible, that lord Hastings should exult in the deaths of their common enemies of the queen's family; nor that he should continue his connexions with Richard, who had not hitherto fully discovered his base intentions; supposing him not to know any thing (which yet must be supposed, or he would never have put himself in his power) of his bloody designs against him.

THAT Henry VII. had his failings, is not to be denied; but that he was a greater tyrant than Richard, seems to require some better proof than the bare assertion of our apologist [e]. His readers may therefore, it is hoped, justly withhold their assent till such evidence be produced.

ACCORDING to a note in Mr. Walpole's book [f], king Edward must have been alive on June 17, and Richard is said to have been crowned on the 6th of July, which indeed none of the writers contradict, nor do they suppose the princes to have been murdered before that time; so that whatever measures were taken to destroy them, whether such as are set forth by Sir Thomas More or not (it being very difficult from the nature of the transaction to ascertain them with any great degree of precision) yet it is well known they never appeared long after; and the king was undoubtedly too wise, and of too cautious a disposition, to give them an opportunity of escaping out of their confinement, which must have been attended with the utmost danger to himself, and would probably have overset all his schemes. And had they died a natural death, it would have been but common policy to have exposed their bodies to open view, in the same manner, and for the same reasons, as that of Henry VI. was exhibited to the public. Besides, had they, or either of them, escaped into a foreign coun-

[e] P. 49.

[f] P. 50. See note / above.

try,

try, there is little room to doubt but they must have been heard of long before the appearance of Perkin Warbeck; and as the queen, and some of her friends at least, must have been privy to this escape, it is very unlikely they should ever have joined in promoting the earl of Richmond to the crown, knowing the true heir to it to be still in being. To pass over the ill-grounded suspicions of Henry VII. [g] being the murderer of the princes, or of one of them at least; and those injurious reflections cast upon three of our most noble historians, the chancellors, merely because they happened to oppose his favourite scheme; can there be the least glimpse of reason for imagining that Richard, after bastardizing his nephew, should ever intend to restore the crown to him? which, if he ever had insinuated, as it is not unlikely he might, the creating his own son Prince of Wales, soon after, must have effectually confuted [b].

We are now arrived at his capital argument (with which so great a parade is made) drawn from the new discovered *Coronation-roll* [i], which, unhappily for him, turns out to be no such thing, but only a *wardrobe account*, setting forth that robes were ordered for lord Edward, son of Edward VI. as they probably might for his own coronation; which, to save appearances, and to conceal his uncle's intentions, was pretended to be carrying on till near the time of the latter's taking place. Nor can it well be reconciled to any system of policy to imagine, that after declaring his nephew a bastard, and depriving him of his crown, he should have been so imprudent as to have exhibited such an object to the public at such a ceremony, however well disposed he might have been to have put such an insult upon him. But as this so much boasted relick of antiquity has been most accurately examined by a very able hand, the worthy President of the Society of Antiquaries [k], who has shewn that he neither did

[g] P. 61, 62, 63. [b] P. 64, 65. [i] P. 65. [k] See *Archæologia*, vol. I. p. 361.

walk, nor was it ever intended he should, at his uncle's coronation, and that from thence it does not even appear he was alive at the time, it would be needless to pursue the argument any farther. That no robes were prepared for the duke of York, makes it highly probable that the orders were issued before his coming out of the sanctuary; from whence, if any where, an attempt should have been made, and that with the greatest probability of success, for conveying him out of the kingdom [1]; but when both came into the state of confinement, and were equally watched and guarded by the suspicious usurper, why an attempt should be made in favour of one only, and that too the younger, when there seems to have been no more difficulty in conveying both away, is a mystery I should be glad to have explained.

Mr. Walpole's proof that the princes were alive at the time of passing the act for bastardizing them, and confirming his own title, grounded upon a criticism on the single word *bene* (which yet in Speed is wrote *been*), using the present tense instead of the preter-imperfect, when we consider it only as a translation, and that too made at a time when the writers in the English language were not very accurate in their expressions, seems to have little or no weight; and indeed as the whole issue of Edward IV. were undoubtedly to be comprehended therein, and the daughters were then known to be living, I do not see why the former mode of expression is not to be preferred to the latter: and the rather, because the *act* is only a confirmation of the *petition*, and in the very words of it, which is allowed to have been drawn up whilst they were all alive.

THE counsel given for sending the princesses abroad, lest the males should be destroyed in the Tower, although related after the coronation at York, yet the whole narration plainly shews it was during the time of Richard's absence; and when the southern and western people began to murmur at the confine-

[1] P. 67.

ment

ment of the princes, and to suspect that some unjustifiable measures would be taken with them, and not confined to the precise time of that transaction [m].

As to his disposition to marry his niece, or at least his pretending to have such a design, after the death of his queen, it seems scarce to admit of any doubt [n]; but whether only to circumvent the earl of Richmond, or to gratify his own inclinations, is not so certain; perhaps both might have had their influence in carrying it into execution, had his friends been consenting thereto. It is not much to be wondered at, that the young lady should be pleased with the prospect of such an exalted station, or that the queen, whose ambition is well known, should be taken therewith. And that the earl of Richmond should be highly offended at their conduct, is very natural; which yet seems to me an additional proof of their belief of the death of the princes; otherwise they could not, with any sort of propriety, have consented to such terms.

As the queen dowager, according to lord Bacon's account, seems to have been concerned in Simnel's plot, this, if king Henry had any good reasons to believe it, would in some measure justify his severities towards her, although he might not chuse to publish them to the world: and may account for restraining her visitants after her confinement [o]. Simon the priest, the instructor of Simnel, was taken with him, committed close prisoner, and heard of no more, the king loving to seal up his own dangers; and the queen died soon after she fell under his displeasure, in 1486; so that had Mr. Walpole paid the same regard to dates (*which cannot be controverted*) he expects from others, he would not have called for her evidence against Perkin Warbeck, nor expected her being confronted with him, when apprehended in 1498. And as to his defence of her, in answer to Mr. Hume's question, it appears to me to be altogether confused and unsatisfactory.

[m] P. 72.

[n] P. 74, 75, 76.

[o] P. 77. 80.

THE king might surely express his sorrow for the death of the earl of Lincoln, as from him he might have expected to have drawn out the bottom of his danger, and to have more particularly learned what others were concerned with him, without referring to the duke of York [1]. Perkin Warbeck, who is set up by our apologist as this real duke, made his first appearance at the dutch-ess of Burgundy's about the year 1491 [2], and the year following in Ireland, according to the historians I have consulted; and whatever instructions she herself was unable to give him, by reason of her long absence from England, might be imparted by others, under her direction, and so not improperly be placed to her account. Sir Robert Clifford's Report, of Perkin's being the real duke of York, if true, is not much to his credit [u]; but little reliance is to be had on the veracity of a person who had been bribed to desert the party he was once engaged with. And indeed it does not appear, from the accounts given us by the historians, that Sir William Stanley, whom he is pleased to accuse, was actually engaged in the rebellion, and therefore the construction put upon his words by his judges was deemed hard measure. And as to the ascertaining the identity of Richard's person, it must surely have been attended with no small difficulties; as he went out of the kingdom, if at all, about the age of nine years, and was never heard of again, by the apologist's own confession, till he arrived at the age of twenty-one, nor brought to court before that of twenty-four.

THE alteration from a child of that age to manhood, as is found by daily experience, must render the case very doubtful, even of those who had been the most intimately acquainted with him from his infancy.

THE Lord Fitz-Walter was sent to Calais for greater security, and probably, with some design of sparing his life, had he not

[1] P. 79.

[2] P. 84, &c.

[u] P. 87.
imprudently

imprudently dealt with his keeper for making his escape, and not, as Mr. Walpole is pleased invidiously to assert, to conceal his evidence [w]. And the rest of the great men, who entered into this conspiracy, might have been influenced by various motives we at this distance are unacquainted with, and therefore cannot, with any sort of propriety, be said to have died in attestation of a matter of fact only, which they must have been acquainted with [x].

THERE is, no doubt, some obscurity in Perkin's confession, as published by the king; but it does not surely abound with such glaring contradictions as our apologist would persuade us to believe; since it does not from thence appear he was twice sent to learn the English language, if at all; there being not a word said of it in the first passage, but only of his being put on board for the recovery of his health; and if he did learn it twice, he had certainly more time for doing it than the three months allotted him [y]. Nor do I see any inconsistency in his being put upon making further improvements in that language upon his arrival in Ireland, supposing him to have been already instructed in it abroad (which is yet nowhere positively asserted) or to have learned it from conversing with natives in his travels [z]. And supposing him not the true duke of York (as he is acknowledged to have sworn, and to have confirmed with his dying words) he must have stood in need of such instructions for assuming that character. And if such a confession can be supposed to be first drawn from him by fear of torture, yet I don't see how they could operate upon him at the time of his execution.

It may be farther observed, that, although the cotemporary historians wrote their histories at that time, or soon after, yet perhaps none of them were published till after the death of Henry VII: and therefore could have no inducement to flatter either him or his father; or to falsify and misrepresent facts, in order to gain

[w] P. 87.

[x] P. 88.

[y] P. 90, 91, 92.

[z] P. 92.

favour, as it is pretended. Should it however be allowed they were somewhat prejudiced against the House of York, and so disposed to magnify the faults of King Richard, as well as the defects of his person, yet this would by no means disprove the reality of either the one or the other. And, indeed, as to the latter, Mr. W—— is so ingenuous as to allow, with this king's cotemporary old master Rous of Guy's Cliff [a], that his hero was *somewhat weak, and small of stature, and that his shoulders wore not quite even*, which the ocular demonstration of this person obliged him to confess.

As to the story of Richard Plantagenet, related by Peck [b], I have been told it was drawn up by Dr. Brett, and communicated it to the late Dr. Warren of Trinity Hall, in order to see how far his credulity would carry him; and, at the same time, to expose and ridicule modern antiquaries. But although I have since been assured there is such an entry in the Register of Eastwell, yet the story founded upon it (which is said to be currently believed in that country) may not be the more true. If it be true, however, the king must have entered upon his gallantries very early, since this son must have been begotten by him at the age of fifteen or sixteen, as this person is said to have been of that age at the king's death, who was then only thirty-two [c].

WHATEVER was the cause of that harsh and severe treatment Jane Shore met with [d], it seems hard to throw the odium of it entirely on the Clergy (but that was done perhaps the better to introduce the charge of ingratitude for her good offices towards them); when it is evident, from the king's own letter, she was imprisoned by his command, and that the prosecutions in the ecclesiastical courts were carried on under his direction. No *holy person* therefore need be set up for her persecutor, nor can properly be said to have been the occasion of passing those severe censures upon her.

[a] P. 102, 103, 104. [b] P. 113. [c] P. 116, &c. [d] P. 120.

The criticism upon *the late wife of William Shore*, put for *the wife of William Shore*, seems to be too much refined for the language of that age; and therefore the argument built upon it, I should apprehend, could have but little weight [e].

WHAT he has before said of Sir *Richard Tyrrell* [f], has been so effectually confuted by Dr. *Milles* [g], from the very evidence he himself refers to, *the Wardrobe Account*, that it would be needless to add any thing more on that head.

WHAT remarks others may have made upon the tract of Mr. Walpole, or whether any of them be the same with the above, I know not, having never seen them; but am apt to think other defects may be pointed out, by any one who has leisure and inclination to examine it more minutely; and that upon the whole, he has not communicated so much new light to this period of our history as he flatters himself he has done; but that if he found it *obscure*, he has left it so, notwithstanding his boasted discoveries from *the Parliament and Coronation Rolls*; which I fear will scarce be found to carry with them such conviction as must effectually influence every one, who *does not wilfully shut his eyes*, and prefer ridiculous *tradition* to true *history*.

[e] P. 120. [f] P. 56, &c. [g] *Archaeologia*, p. 380.

XXXII. *Observations on a Greek Inscription brought from Athens.* By Daniel Wray, Esquire.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, April 18, 1771.

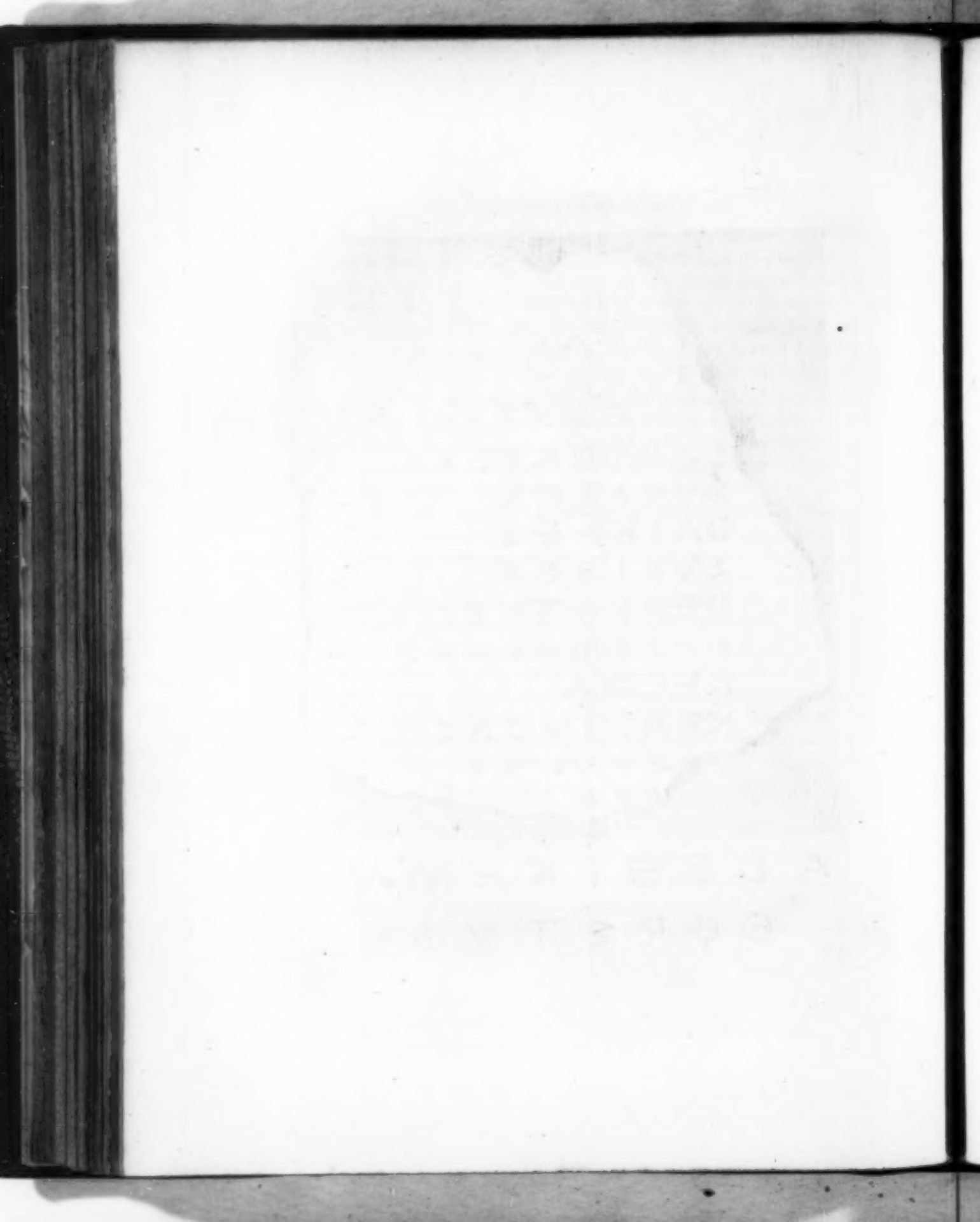
I Take the liberty to communicate to the Society an ancient inscription, which I met with some months ago in the possession of Mr. Jones, of Finchley, a worthy old gentleman, who is retired from business to a pleasant spot in that village.

WALKING with him in his garden, I saw lying in several places broken bas-reliefs, and other fragments of antiquity. My friend, observing me look at them with an eye of curiosity, said, he had something more of that kind to shew me; and pointing to the inscription, wished me to explain it; for those, who had yet seen it, could make nothing of it. I immediately saw the letters were in general Greek; but there were some characters intirely new to me; and I begged he would indulge me with the loan of the marble, that I might consider it more at leisure.

UPON examination I soon found, that the whole made no continued sense; but that each line contained one proper name; all which, except the second, I easily made out to my satisfaction, interpreting the unknown letters by those which accompanied them, and agreeably to the genius of the language in the formation of such names.

IT was no small mortification to find that our inscription would settle no point of history or chronology, nor illustrate any Grecian custom, civil, or religious; being merely a list of names, without any addition to inform us whether they were Athenians or Spartans, warriors or magistrates, living or dead. The list was originally longer, the stone being broken at the top and bottom,





bottom, and parts of letters remaining in both places. There is also IMAPNA at some distance, and in a different direction; of which, I confess, I can make nothing.

THERE is enough however to excite our curiosity in the manner of writing. The terminations ΕΣ and ΟΝ for *ης* and *ων*, prove it prior to the introduction of the long vowels; and most of the letters are of the most ancient form; and some not to be found upon any marble, though sufficiently warranted either by coins, or by passages of ancient authors.

THE marble gives us eighteen letters, very well cut and preserved; some occurring often, and always similar. They are placed in regular files from top to bottom (a circumstance, in which the Sandwich marble and some others agree.) So that in the beginning of the lines, where the stone is broken, more than once, we are sure how many letters are wanting, and the restoring of them becomes almost certain.

THE letters, whose forms are most remarkable, are [a] D δ, ⊕ θ, ⚡ λ, Η ξ, ⊙ ς, [b] Ρ ρ, V υ, ⊕ φ, + χ, and ⊕, which I take to be Κοππα, the Latin Q. D, R, and V, agree exactly with the Latin; which was the case in general with the early Greek alphabet, according to the elder Pliny and Tacitus [c]. ⊕, ⊕, +, are no less ancient [d]. ⊙ with the dot is rare (indeed that figure sometimes stands for ⊕.) Η is said to be found only on medals [e]. And ⚡ I cannot trace in any remains of antiquity, or

[a] D occurs in the *Farnesian* inscription of *Herodes Atticus*, which, according to the best critics, is an imitation of the oldest manner of writing.

[b] The *Baudelotian* inscription has Ρ with a shorter tail.

[c] Pliny, L. VII. c. 58. Tacitus, *Annal.* XI. 14.

[d] ⊕ in *Deliac* inscription. ⊕ in *Deliac* and *Baudelotian*. + in *Sigean* and *Baudelotian*.

[e] By *Montfaucon*, in *Palaeographia Graeca*, page 142. I do not remember to have seen it with the middle horizontal stroke so long Ξ, or turned on its side Η.

in any of the collections of alphabets [f]; but the words Telestas [g], Cleon, and Aischylos, leave no room to doubt of its power here. ϙ is well known as an Επιστημον, or numeral character; and it plainly is derived from the Phœnician and Hebrew q, ϙ, and is the parent of the Roman Q. It has appeared upon no marble hitherto discovered; but is to be seen on the coins of Crotona and Syracuse, in the place of K, in the names of those cities [h]. And that letter it will stand in the stead of here, in Α V ϙ Θ Δ ϙ R K A Σ, from Αυκος [i].

THE omission of the long vowels, the very ancient form of so many characters, and the rest with no particular mark of a later æra, observable upon the same stone with the Θ, Ξ, Φ, Χ, double or aspirated letters, and the V also, excluded by many critics from the original Greek alphabet, give force to the suspicions of some good judges [k], that the opinion of that alphabet's being confined

[f] Except in the *Nouvelle Diplomatique* of the Benedictines, who give † under the letter Α, in their alphabet of the third and subsequent centuries after Christ, which can have nothing to do with the age of our inscription. † has been used in the place of the *Aeolic Digamma*, and of the *Aspirate Spirit*. In the sums of money upon the *Sandwich Marble*, Dr. Taylor understands by it a fraction of the drachma, most probably the *Obolus*. Taylor's *Marm. Sandvic.* p. 43.

[g] Telestes, by an undeniable restoration of the T, is the name of a poet in the *Parian Chronicle*, No. 79. T is never doubled in the same syllable; so Τηλεστας is probably an error of the graver.

[h] Thus C and Q are indifferently put in Latin; cocus, coquus; locutus, loquutus. ϙ is also found upon many *Syracusan* coins; where it is supposed to be the first letter of *Corinth*, of which city *Syracuse* was a colony. All these coins I had the opportunity of seeing in the most perfect preservation by the favour of our worthy brother Mr. Duane; whose elegant collection is always open to the curiosity of his friends.

[i] Αυκοδερκας (perhaps ας for ης, as in Τηλετας;) looking like a wolf, as γλυκυδερκης, λιθοδερκης. So λιθοβαρηνς, bold as a wolf.

[k] Mr. Bourget of Neufchatel, in *Biblioth. Ital.* tom. xviii. and Mr. Le Clerc, in *Biblioth. Choisie*, tom. xi.

to sixteen letters, and its being preserved in that imperfect state at Athens, till the Archonship of Euclid, in the 94th Olympiad, though generally taken to be the case, is without foundation. Our inscription, found in the middle of Athens, retains the short vowels, yet admits the letters called *Palamedean* and *Simonidean*. The *Baudelotian* inscription (cited by Montfaucon, *Palaeogr. Graec.*) brought from Athens, which contains a mortuary list of the tribe *Erechtheis*, and bears its own date, almost fifty years prior to Euclid, has the short vowels, with four of those new letters, as they are called. And the curious marble lately imported from Athens also, engraved at the expence of the *Dilettanti Society*, has nearly the same particulars, and carries also its own date, four or five years before Euclid. It is safer therefore, amidst the various accounts of the ancients, the contradictory passages of the later scholiasts and grammarians, and the very different inductions of our modern critics, to rest in the general idea, that the Greek alphabet is derived from the *Phoenician*; and to leave the question whether all the letters were imported at once, or which came in earlier, which later, as a point hard to be decided, and of small importance.

THE regularity and neatness of character observable upon our marble are unusual in very ancient inscriptions; and are difficult to reconcile with the truly antique forms of most of the letters. From these forms however, as nothing can be argued from the sense of the inscription, we can alone make any conjecture about its age. The *Baudelotian*, of Olympiad 82, has many letters approaching to ours, but not so well drawn; and expresses the ξ by χ. That possessed by the *Dilettanti*, of Olympiad 92, agrees in those particulars, and has φσ for ψ. But those characters upon ours, which are unquestionably of an older form, give it the fairest pretence to at least as early a date.

GIVE me leave to add a word about *the fate of our marble*: it is rather singular. All I could learn from Mr. Jones was, that a captain in his majesty's navy, who had made many voyages to Italy and the Levant, brought home this stone, with those others which I saw at Finchley, some years ago; presented them to him, and died soon after. As soon as I had considered the characters, and reduced them to what I supposed was their alphabetical order, I consulted Dr. Bernard's *Table*, republished, with improvements, by our learned brother Dr. Morton, to see whether any of his alphabets agreed with this: when I found an imperfect one, exactly corresponding both in the number and shape of the letters, communicated to the Doctor by Mr. Stuart, who has done this Society and this Country so much honour by his *Antiquities of Athens*. This discovery sent me directly to my old friend, who very kindly looked over his papers, and found that with which he had favoured Dr. Morton. This now lies upon your table; and Mr. Stuart assures me, it is a transcript from a marble, which he found at Athens (near the ruins of a magnificent portico, which he takes to be the *Poikile*) and embarked with some other fragments for Smyrna, where he proposed to meet the cargo; but it miscarried, and he never got any tidings of it, till I shewed him the stone in my custody.

IN the plate, under the inscription, the eighteen letters are ranged in their alphabetical order.

THE highth of the letters upon the marble is six tenths of an inch.

[φο]ινίξ
.. λας
[τ]ραχας
τελεστας
δαμοφανες
θυμαρες
δαικλες
συλιχος
δερεκετος
λυκοδορκας
κλεον
κρατιαδας
[αι]σχυλος

μνηστή

XXXIII. *Some Account of certain Tartarian Antiquities.*
In a Letter from Paul Demidoff, Esquire, at Peter-
sburg, to Mr. Peter Collinson, dated September 17,
1764.

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 5, 1767.

THE Russians, in effecting a practicable road to China, discovered in Latitude 50 north, between the rivers Irtysh and Obalet, a desert of a very considerable extent, overspread in many parts with Tumuli, or Barrows. This desert constitutes the southern boundary of Siberia.

HISTORIANS and Journalists make mention of these tumuli, with several particulars concerning them.

MR. Strahlenberg, in his History of Russia and Tartary, p. 4, relates, that, in the year 1720, some Russian regiments being sent from *Tobolski*, the capital of Siberia, up the river Irtysh, to the great plains, or deserts, found in the tumuli there many ornamental antiquities, as they likewise did on the western boundary of the desert, between the rivers *Tobol* and *Ischim*. He further mentions, p. 235, that Scythian antiquities are annually brought from the Pagan tombs which lie on each side the river Irtysh, on the deserts of the Calmuc Tartars. And in p. 330, that a vast number of molten images, and other things, in gold, silver, and other metals, have been brought from the Siberian and Tartarian tombs; some of which he has engraved in his history.

MR. Bell, in Vol. I. p. 209, of his Journey from Petersburg to Pekin, informs us, that eight or ten days journey from *Tomsky*
 (situate

(situate on the river Tom, which falls into the Oby, and empties itself in the frozen ocean, in latitude 53 and 54, north, and which makes the north east boundary of the great desert mentioned above by Strahlenburg) are found many tombs and burying places, of ancient heroes, as reported, who probably fell in battle; but when, and between whom, and upon what occasion, these battles were fought, is not so certain. The account which Mr. Bell received from the Tarrars in the *Baraba*, is, that Tamerlane had many engagements with the Calmuc Tartars in this country, whom he in vain attempted to subdue. Many persons go every summer from Tomsky to these tumuli, and find considerable quantities of gold, silver, and brass, and some precious stones, among the ashes and remains of the dead bodies; also hilts of swords, armour, ornaments for saddles and bridles, and other trappings; with the bones of these animals to which the other belonged, among which are the bones of elephants.

From these circumstances it appears, that when any chief, or person of distinction, was interred, it was usual to bury in the same tumulus with him his arms and favourite horse, &c. And this custom, which is reputed to be of great antiquity, prevails at this day among the Calmucs, and other Tartarian Hordes.

THE borderers upon those deserts have for many years continued to dig for the treasure deposited in these tumuli, which still, however, remains unexhausted. The Russian court being informed of these depredations, sent a principal officer, with sufficient troops, to open such of these tumuli as were too large for the marauding parties to undertake, and to secure their contents. This officer, upon taking a survey of the numberless monuments of the dead spread over this great desert, concluded that the barrow of the largest dimensions most probably contained the remains of the prince, or chief. And he was not mistaken; for, after removing a very deep covering of earth and stones, the workmen came to

three

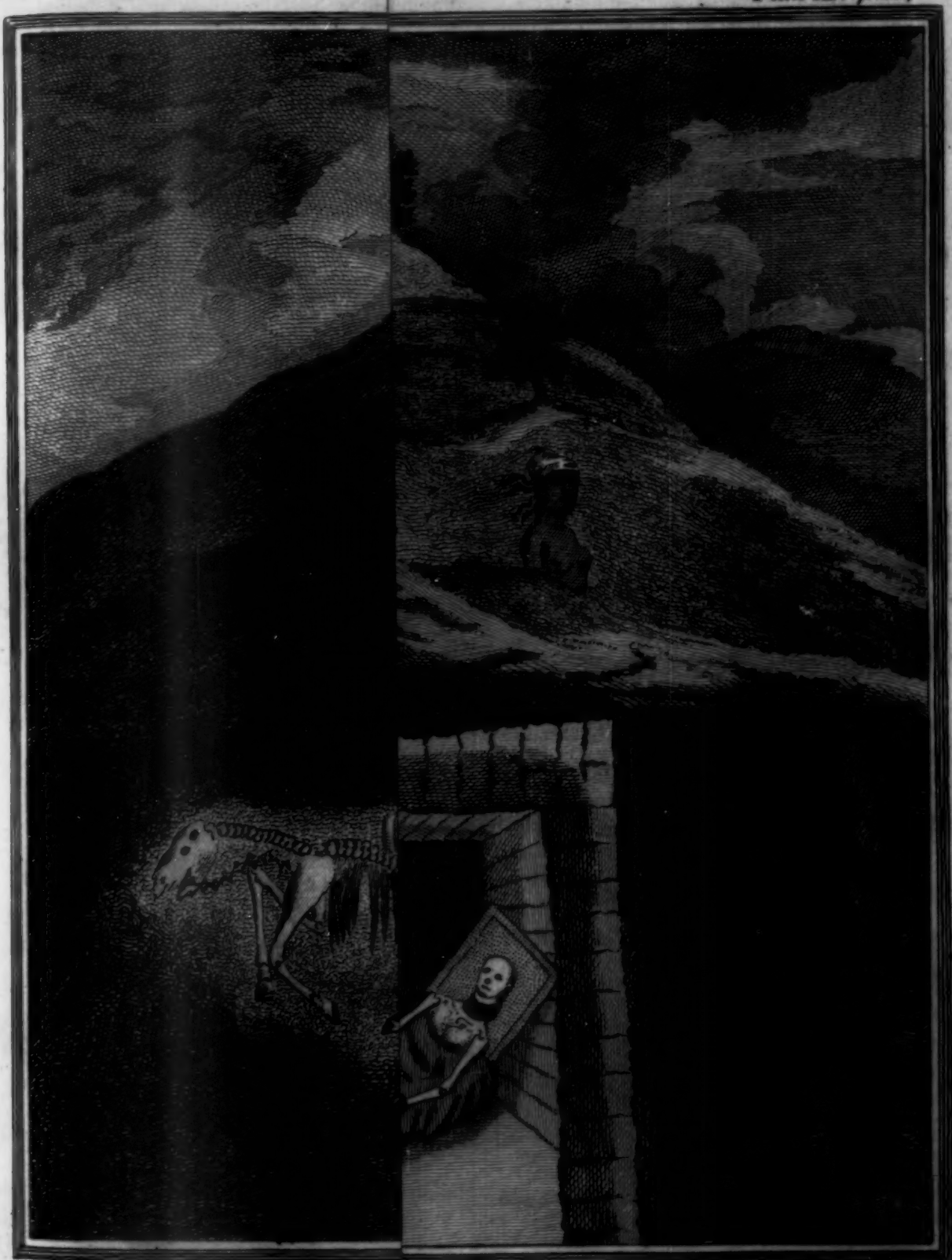
three vaults constructed of stones, of rude workmanship; a view of which is exhibited in Plate XIV.

THAT wherein the prince was deposited, which was in the centre, and the largest of the three, was easily distinguished by the sword, spear, bow, quiver, and arrow, which lay beside him. In the vault beyond him, towards which his feet lay, were his horse, bridle, saddle, and stirrups. The body of the prince lay in a reclining posture, upon a sheet of pure gold, extending from head to foot; and another sheet of gold, of the like dimensions, was spread over him. He was wrapt in a rich mantle, bordered with gold, and studded with rubies and emeralds. His head, neck, breast, and arms, naked, and without any ornament.

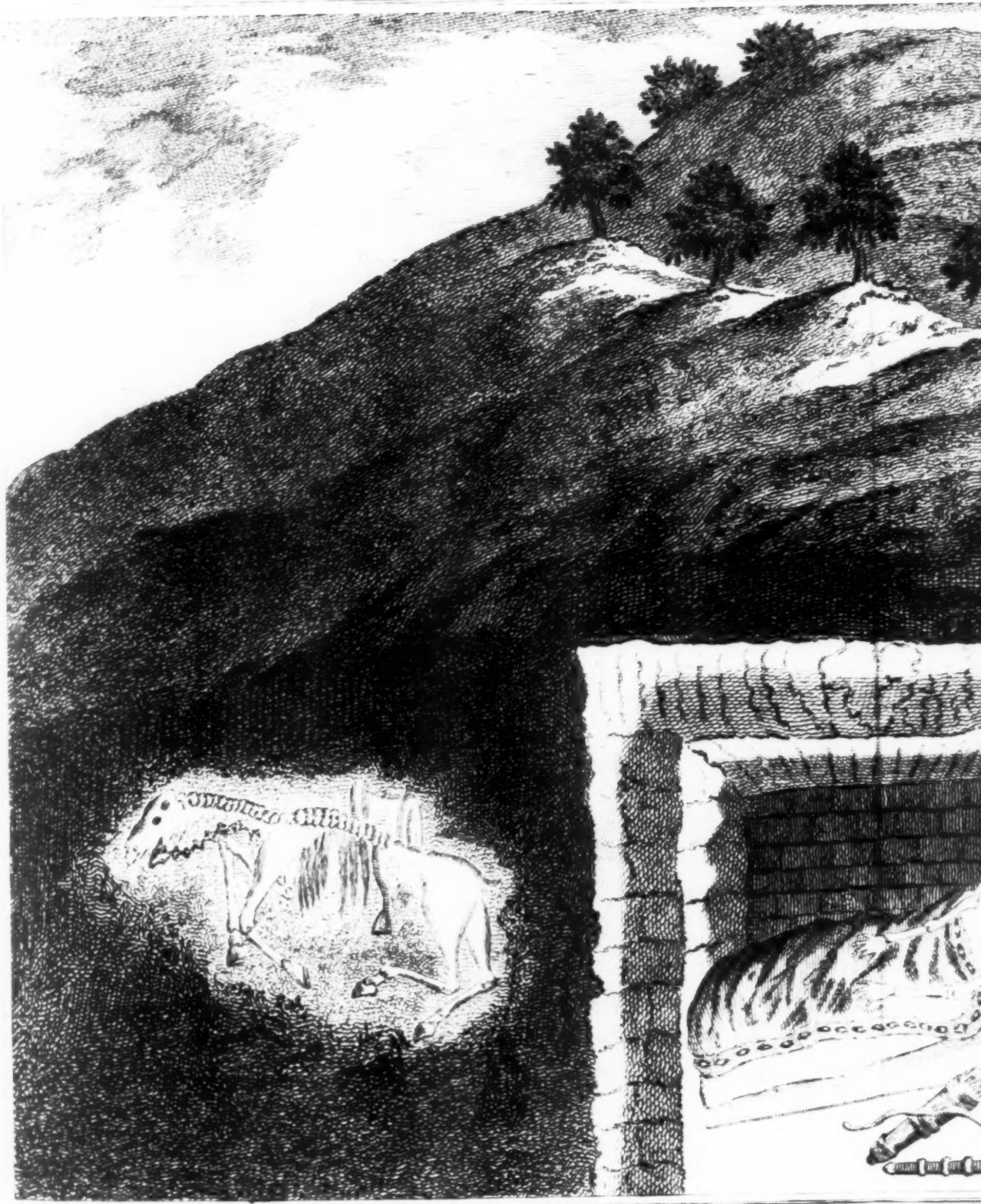
IN the lesser vault lay the princess, distinguished by her female ornaments. She was placed reclining against the wall, with a gold chain of many links, set with rubies round her neck, and gold bracelets round her arms. The head, breast, and arms, were naked. The body was covered with a rich robe, but without any border of gold or jewels, and was laid on a sheet of fine gold, and covered over with another. The four sheets of gold weighed 40lb. The robes of both looked fair and complete; but, upon touching, crumbled into dust.

MANY more of the tumuli were opened, but this was the most remarkable. In the others a great variety of curious articles were found, the principal of which are exhibited in the XVth and three succeeding Plates, exactly copied by Mr. Basire from drawings transmitted by Mr. Collinson, and carefully made after the originals.

The rings affixed to the gold instruments, represented Plate XV, seem to indicate, that they were worn as ornaments, or possibly as amulets. One evidently resembles a bracelet. It is difficult to assign the proper use or intention of the tripod, or copper table, with the animals of the warmer latitudes, the lions and camels, dancing

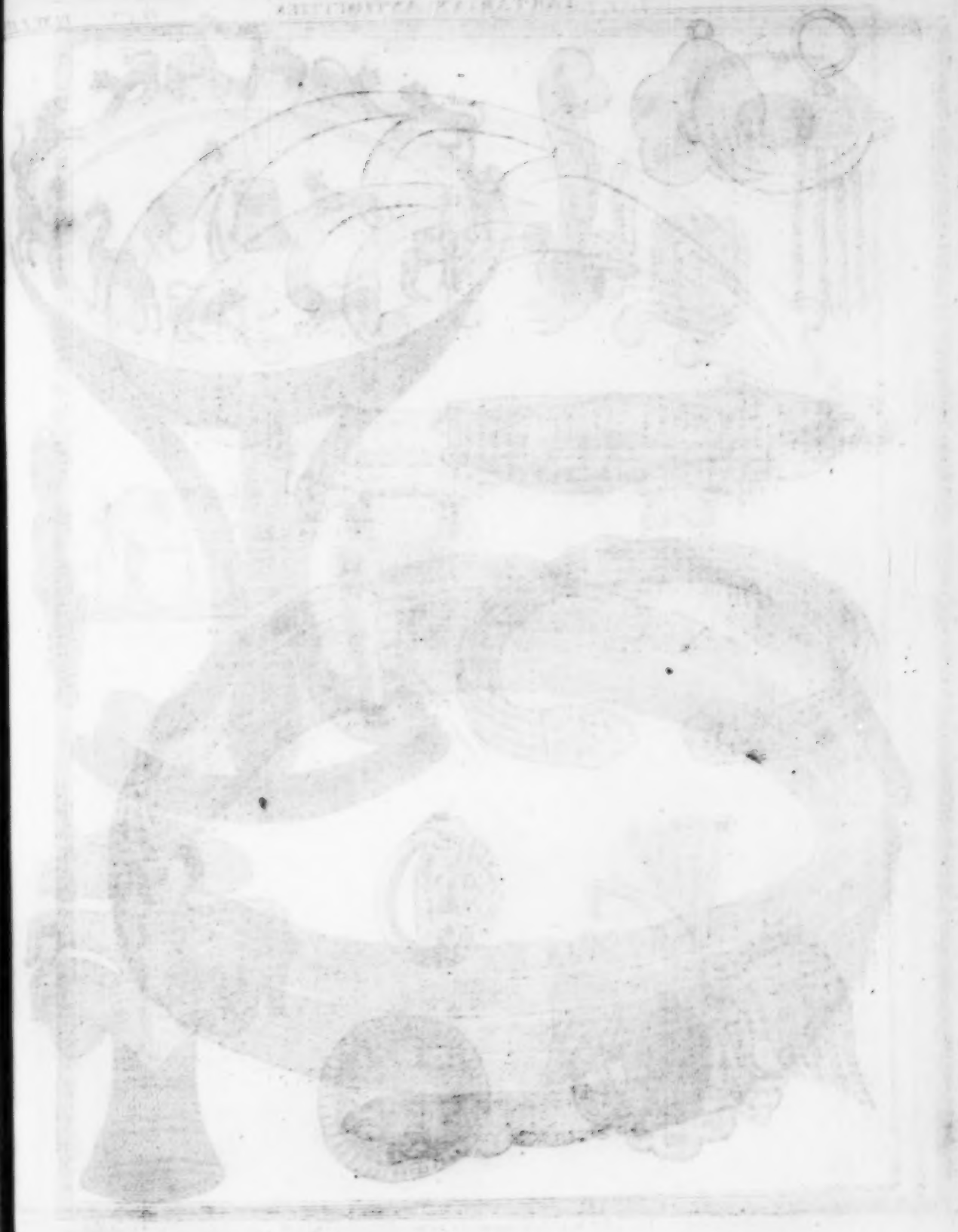


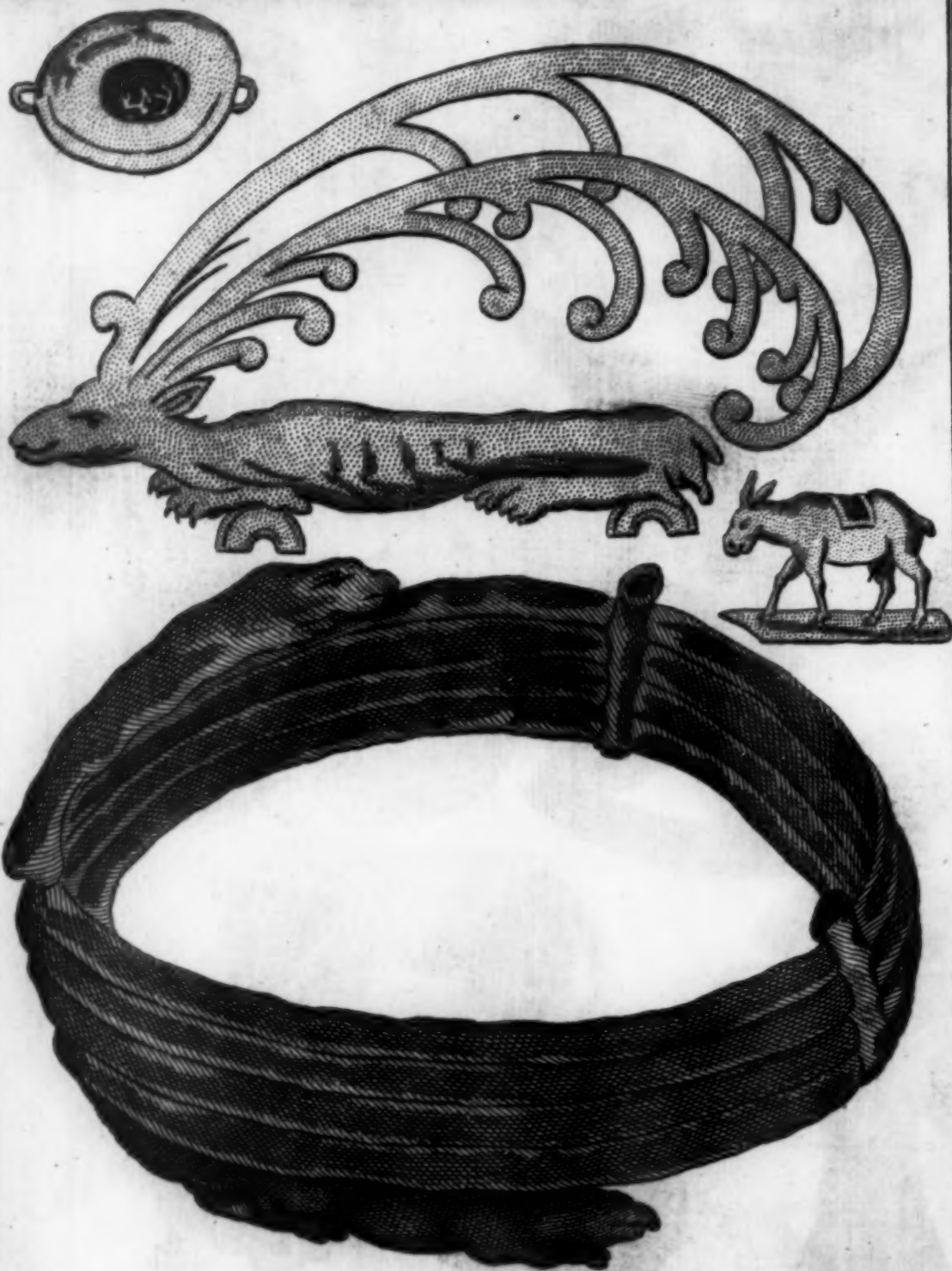
J. H. B. 1814



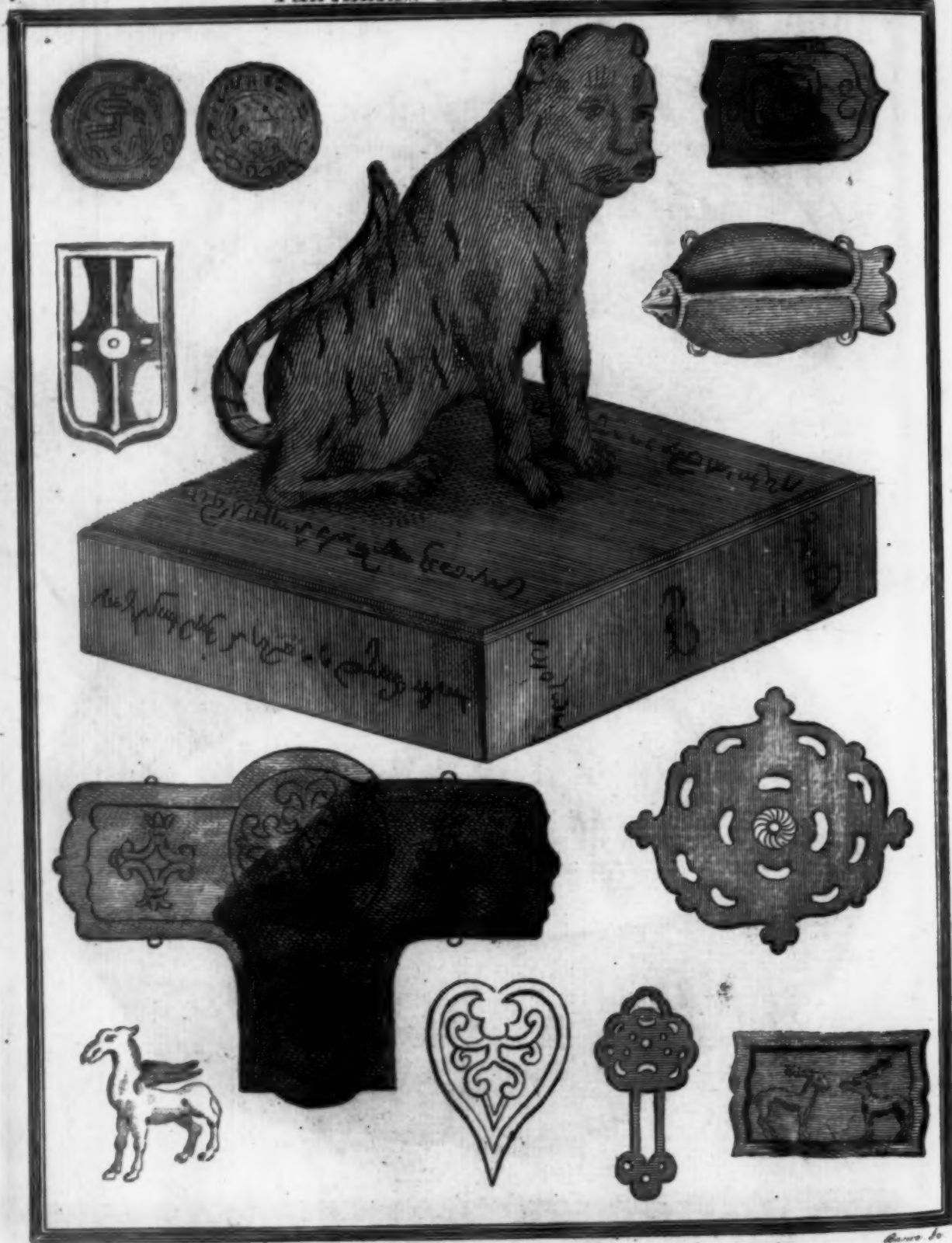
















dancing round the rim. The design is not inelegant, and the attitudes of the animals are spirited and natural. The figures beneath are supposed to be idols or penates.

Pl. XVI. exhibits more gold figures. That with rings at each end, and something like an inscription in the centre, was probably worn as a charm. The animal with the singular incurvated and branched horns, and the ass, may perhaps have been toys; or they may have served as idols. The convoluted snakes, or rather lizards, might have been an ornament for the head, the neck, or the feet.

Pl. XVII. The silver lion, or leopard, sitting erect on a pedestal of the same metal, with an inscription thereupon, is of tolerable workmanship, considering it as the product of some remote age; possibly it might have been one of their deities. The copper cross with four rings seems intended to have been worn as an ornament, or for some superstitious purpose; as also the two others of copper. Those in white metal are of tin, or tutenag, and may have had the like uses. The two thin silver coins, or medals, represented in this Plate, have no relation to the other antiquities, but were found in the province of *Permia* in ancient Russia. The difficulty is, to account for such coins being found in so remote a place, unless we conceive it carried thither by some of the Greek priests. The inscription seems to be Arabic.

Pl. XVIII. contains rude subjects in copper, or a white metal, that may be tin, or tutenag. The broad round instrument of copper, with wrought figures on it, if not worn as a mark of distinction, seems at present inexplicable. The engraving on the borders will hardly bear the name of barbarous. The figures in the centre are so obliterated by rust, as to be past describing. Strahlenberg has one such round instrument, but not agreeing exactly with this. According to his account, they were worn by the Tartarian generals on several parts of the body: one on the breast, one on the back, and one on each shoulder. It is somewhat remarkable, that no coin of any sort appears to have been found with the other species of rich articles in any of the tumuli.

UPON the whole, it may be concluded, that, as the Calmuc Tartars bordering on this desert, the Walgusian Tartars on the river *Zawaga*, and the *Konnitungusians* on the river *Angara*, practise the same method of interment which we see here observed, burying their dead under ground, together with their cloaths, arms, ornaments, &c. it is very probable, that the tumuli in which the above articles were found, as well as the rest dispersed over the desert, contained the remains of the ancestors of those several hordes of Tartars.

. The idols engraved according to real proportion in Plate XVII*. and XVIII*. were likewise communicated by Mr. Peter Collinson, who received them from Mr. Demidoff. They are properly Calmuc or Tartarian Penates; and are composed of such metals as the circumstances of the family can afford. Every head of a tribe or family has one of his own choice, which is placed in a particular part of his tent, and worshiped by prostration, and imploring temporal blessing. This latitude of choice gives room for great variety in the figures of these idols. Those here exhibited are composed of part of the human body, and of various animals differently combined.

The first somewhat resembles, in the upper part, an Egyptian idol, the head partly that of an ox, but with the beak of a bird: the breast, arms, and hands of a man, with claws instead of nails; and the belly covered with feathers, as are the short thick swelling thighs continued to the feet, which are also armed with claws, three before and one behind.

The second figure is not unlike a Syren, with the body of a woman, and the tail of a fish or serpent: the ornament of the head resembling the Egyptian, with a collar round the neck reaching down to the waist. One sees many Chinese and Japanese deities of this form.

The third idol is composed of a human body, with wings, thick short swelling thighs and legs covered with plumage, the feet armed with three claws before, and one behind; round the neck a collar reaching to the waist.

The fourth is a female figure, pretty much resembling the last.

The fifth represents some furious wild beast, probably a lion. In the same plate are small figures of a man on horseback, two men revert conjoined, the breast of one to the belly of the other, the bodies raised to some height above each other.

The sixth idol seems to have the head of an elephant, and the body and tail of a fish.

The Calmucks have, besides these diminutive deities, a national supreme Idol, before whom one or more lamps are kept continually burning; he has a tent consecrated for his residence, with priests, and an established ceremonial.

XXXIV. *Observations on some Tartarian Antiquities, described in the preceding Article.* By John Reinhold Forster, F. A. S.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Feb. 26, 1767.

HIS Lordship the President having been pleased to desire me to give an account of some *Tartarian* Antiquities lately discovered in *Siberia*, and exhibited to the Society by Mr. Collinson; I thought myself happy in having the opportunity of acknowledging the honour the Society had done me in electing me an honorary Member, and likewise of manifesting by this means how desirous I am, not only to merit this honour, but also to discharge a part of my duty.

ALL the attempts to explain these Antiquities may be reduced to four points.

FIRST, to give an account of the writing and literature of those Tartarians, to whom, as I suppose, the above-mentioned Antiquities most probably belong.

THE inhabitants of the river Irtysh and of all the neighbourhood where these tombs were discovered, since the time of Genghiz-khan, have been Monguls. This people had no notion of the art of writing before Genghiz-khan; and we see by the testimony of Akhmed Arabiades, who wrote the life of this great Eastern conqueror, that he was the first who took care to train his people to learning and politeness, by giving them the art of writing: and some time afterwards two kinds of characters appear to have been introduced; one called the *Delbergin*, which consisted of 41 letters, the other the *Oigurean*, which had only 14.

THE *Delbergin* is most probably the Tibetan alphabet; and although the Tibetan alphabet has no more than 30 characters, the late learned professors at Petersburg, Bayer and Muller, thought it the same. Bayer shews that the Tibetan alphabet was taken from the Bramine, from which the Bengalian was also formed; which last has just the same number of 41 characters mentioned to be in the *Delbergin* alphabet. An accurate comparison of the Tibetan and Bramine characters strongly illustrates the assertion of Bayer; which will be confirmed still more by the great similitude of the religious principles of both people, from whence it appears, that the art of writing, together with their learning, which consists principally in explanations of their religion, was propagated from India and the Ganges beyond the mountains into Tibet. The Tibetan alphabet has also, by way of addition and composition of figures, most of the above-mentioned number of 41 characters. The *Oigurian* or *Uigurean* alphabet of 14 characters is the same which is still in use among the Mandjurs, Monguls, and such tribes of the latter which commonly are called Khalmucks; only with this difference, that these people have indeed more than 14 characters in their alphabets. But it appears, on comparison, that the supernumerary ones are composite, and not original. Professor Muller makes a very curious observation, that *Uiger* signifies in the Mongul and Khalmuck tongue a *stranger*, or a *man of different manners and language*, and that this was never an original name of a certain people, but was only given to all who differed from them in these particulars. And such certainly were the Nestorian priests, who, by Carpini's account, were employed by Genghiz-khan to give the Monguls an alphabet. But his arguments receive additional force from considering the likeness of the Syriac characters used by the Nestorian priests to the Mongul alphabet, and the conformity in their way of writing and reading; both the

Syriac

Syriac and the Mongul being written from the top of the page to the bottom in perpendicular lines, and then turning the paper, read from the right hand to the left, as the Hebrew and other oriental languages.

THE Tibetan characters are, among all the Monguls and Khalmucks, the sacred ones employed only in their religious worship, and are read and written from the left to the right, in the European manner. On the contrary, the Mogul character is employed in common life, and in all the public writings which have no relation to their worship.

ALL the Monguls and Khalmucks are of the religion of the Dalai-Lama, or the great priest in Tibet; for all their priests come from Tibet, and understand the Tangutian or Tibetan character and language, as well as the Mongul; but not being acquainted with the sambling kind of life of the Monguls and Khalmucks, they erect now and then, by the liberality of their princes and people, large buildings of bricks, which are appropriated to contain the pictures and sculptures of their gods, and are the repository of their sacred books, and the residence of their priests. Such buildings are called in the Mongul language *Kit*, and may be compared to *Monasteries*. When it happens that an enemy penetrates to these places of worship, the priests fly, and leave behind them their gigantic gods, and voluminous scriptures; and, should they happen to fall into the enemies hands, they look upon them to be so much profaned, as never more to return to such places. And as in the last century the Khalmucks were engaged with the Monguls and Kirghis-Kaïffacks, and with one another in several wars, these places of their worship were frequently profaned, and abandoned. This is the true reason that the Russians discovered several such buildings in the Khalmuckian desert, near the river Yrtysh, filled with Tibetan and Khalmuck writings. Such are *Kalbassunkaya*, *Bashn'ya*, or *Djalin-obo*, built
by

by prince *Djalin*, who was defeated by the *Bashkirs*, in the year 1702. *Sempalaty*, or *Darka-zordjin-kit*, was built about 1616, by a Tibetan priest, called *Darkhan-zordji*. *Ablaikit*, where the greatest quantity of these writings, which have since been seen in Europe, were found, was built by *Ablaï*, brother to *Utchurtu-khan*, and prince of a tribe of *Khoshoïts*, who lived about 1630; and being obliged in the civil wars to fly, went towards the river *Yaix*, where he plundered the *Torgoût-khalmucks* under the Russian dominion, and, some time after this, he was taken a prisoner, and carried to *Astrakan*, where he died about 1671. *Utchurtu-khan* built a *Kit* at the same time as his brother *Ablaï*, which was abandoned 1676, upon his being killed by his son-in-law, *Bashukhtu-khan*. To expiate this crime, perhaps, *Bashukhtu-khan* built a monastery near the lake *Saïflan*, which was profaned 1689, by the *Khirghis-käïflaks*, in his wars with the *Monguls*. Near the source of the river *Yeniseya* and the lake *Sankhin* are other remains of such buildings.

THE Tibetan writings found in these places are commonly printed upon white paper, with black or red letters, or both together; the whole pages being engraved on little wooden boards. Some few of those writings are printed with silver or gold letters, upon black or blue paper, which is covered with a kind of varnish, and glued together. The *Khalmuckian* writings are commonly upon white paper, in black or red characters. Few of those are painted with gold or silver on black paper. No more than three leaves were found written in *Khalmuck*, or birch bark. All those writings are on single leaves, and commonly have two little holes, by which they are fastened together with a ribbon.

Now as the letters upon the pedestal of the silver tiger, found in the grave, are *Mungalian*, it is evident that the prince buried there must be one of the *Mungalian* princes, successors of *Genghiz-khan*. And here I come to

2. THE second point of my enquiry, which will serve to fix as near as possible the time in which these princes were buried.

GENGHIZ-KHAN was the founder of a very large empire, which, under the government of Kublaï-khan, after the conquest of the southern parts of China, comprehended almost all Asia. The plunder of the whole East must necessarily increase the wealth and riches of this people, so that we have no reason to be surprized at finding such plenty of gold and silver in their graves. But very early after the time of Kublaï-khan, who died in the year 1294, the different princes of the posterity of Genghiz-khan in the remotest parts of his dominions began to assume independence; and from this epoch we are to date the decline of the power and riches of the Monguls. To this also the civil wars contributed; so that in the time of Amir-timur-khan, commonly known by the name of Tamerlan, who reigned from 1368 to 1404, all those petty khans, excepting the emperor of China, were so weakened, that none of them could resist the power of this prince. This makes me believe that the prince buried in this place lived between the years 1294 and 1404; while the remains of the booty of Asia and a part of Europe were yet in the hands of those princes, and they were become independent.

3. THE third point which I propose to establish, is to shew from whence those people acquired such skill as to execute ornaments in so good a taste.

THE Jesuits in China have given such an account of this empire as would make one believe they had all the arts and sciences in the greatest perfection from the earliest times. But I must confess, that I could never prevail on myself to admit the truth of these accounts. Unprejudiced Travellers, acquainted with the arts and sciences of Europe, have very often observed, that the Chinese, in all their performances, shew a very inferior and servile genius, without any spirit; and that the utmost we may allow

allow to them is, that they are industrious and very good imitators; and this likewise has been very lately observed by the editor of the late Lord Anson's Voyage. Nay, I am persuaded that any other ingenious and spirited nation, with the advantage of such a happy climate, luxuriancy of soil, and affluence of all useful productions, would have brought the arts and sciences to much higher perfection, with the same encouragement, and under the same government. Upon this account I cannot believe that the Chinese were the nation who taught the Monguls in these early times to execute such elegant ornaments as we find in these graves.

SINCE the arts and sciences began to spread over Europe, the nations who inhabit it have excelled all the rest of the world in learning and works of taste and genius. Friar Rubruquis informs us, that he met at the court of *Mangu-khan* William Boucher, a native of Paris, who was goldsmith to the Khan; and executed several ornaments and pieces of work in a very masterly manner; on which account he was not only esteemed, but also very liberally rewarded by the Khan. A young Russian architect likewise found much employment and encouragement among the Monguls. A few years before this, Friar Carpini was relieved by Cosmas, a Russian goldsmith, who made the Imperial throne and seal.

THESE few examples are the strongest arguments that China (whereof the northern parts were already subject to Mangu-khan), and all the East, had no skilful artists; and that the Monguls must therefore have had them from Europe; so that the Europeans were the masters and first teachers both of the Monguls and Chinese.

4. THE fourth and last point which I propose to illustrate, concerns the different funeral ceremonies of these nations.

WHEN I was beyond the river Volga, I met with more than one corpse of the Khalmucks, exposed in the fields to the open air,

to be devoured by birds and beasts of prey; some were inclosed with a little wooden wall two or three feet high; some, as I suppose, having been past hopes of recovery, were left by their relations, under a small piece of felt, fastened to some sticks. All had four or more long sticks round them, fixed in the earth, on which were fastened pieces of silk or callico, printed with prayers in Tibetan characters for the rest of the soul of the deceased. Barazda, a man of authority among the Khalmucks, who administered justice to those of his countrymen who trade with the Russians on the salt lake Yelton, told me, that their priest must say a prayer by each deceased person; and that the corpses of their Khans, and their families, were burnt, and the ashes and bones sent to the Dalai Lamà. A journal of a voyage inserted in the *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, published lately at Rome, mentions, that the Tibetans have six different ways of funerals.

1. THE first is, to burn the corpse, and to make with butter and barley-flour a paste of the ashes, in the shape of a little man, which is held over a censer.

2. THE corpse of the Grand Lamàs, and some few other people of great rank, are burned with sandal wood:

OR, imbalmed, and kept up in sacred coffins, over which sometimes pyramids are erected.

3. THE common Lamàs, and other religious persons, are carried to the top of some mountain, and left to be devoured by birds and beasts of prey.

4. THE common manner of treating persons of middle rank is this: the priest takes the skin on the top of the head of the deceased, and draws it in so quick and violent a manner, that it makes a little noise; by these means they think to draw the soul out of the body; then the naked corpse is carried in a bag, to a great inclosure full of dogs, where the bearer gives the flesh, when severed from the bones, to the dogs, and then casts the

bones into the water. The skull is delivered to the relations of the deceased, who with great veneration carry it home.

5. THE poorer sort are drowned; and

6. THE most abject are buried in the earth.

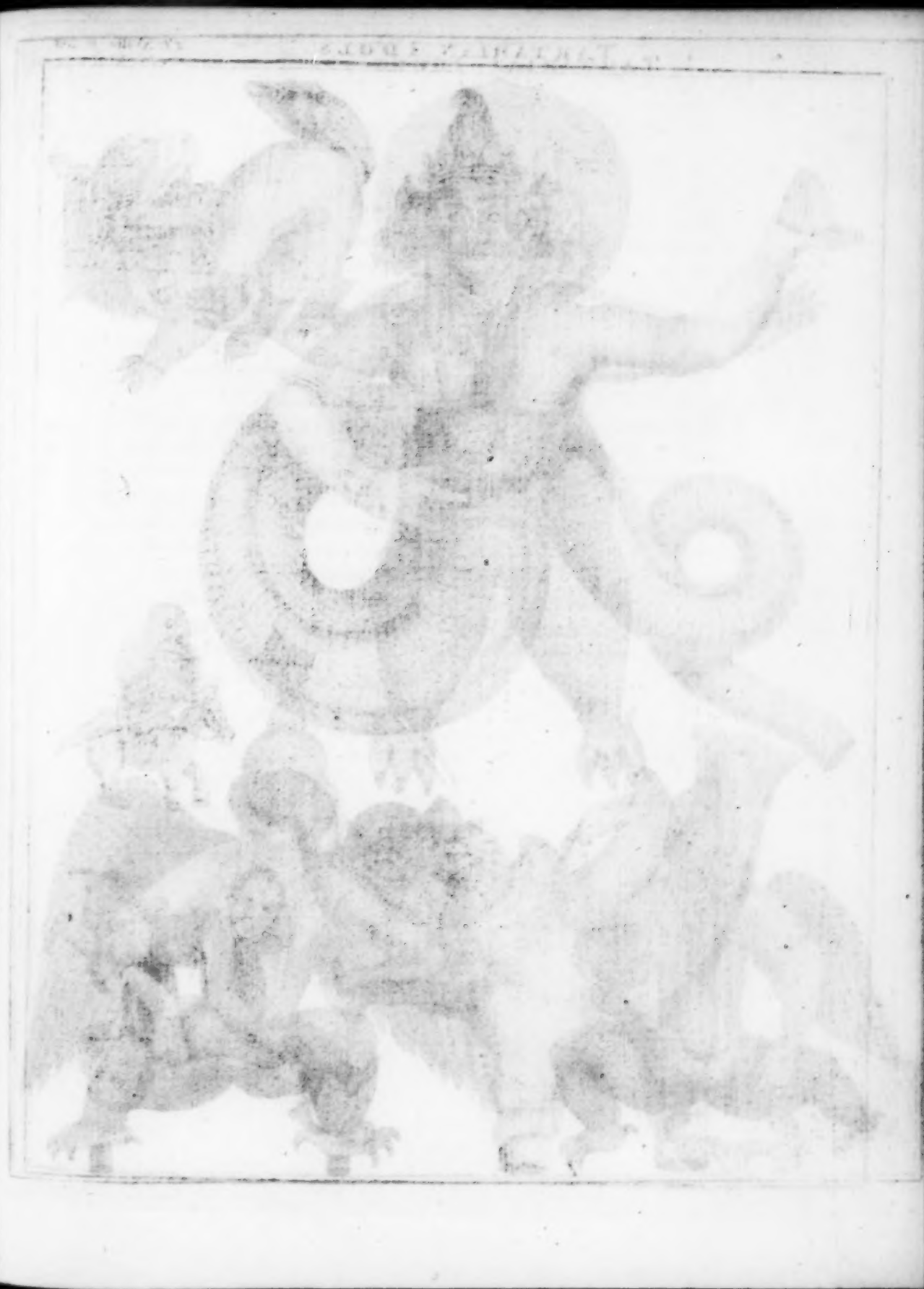
THE first manner is confirmed by *Rubruquis*, to be used by the *Jugurs*, who burn their dead, and deposite the ashes in the top of a pyramid; and *Marco Polo* says, that the people of *Sakien* burn the corpse of the dead on days appointed by their astrologers.

THE Jesuit *Grueber* affirms, that in the kingdom of *Nekbal*, which some annex to Tibet, they fill deep ditches with bodies, to be devoured by birds and beasts of prey; which is conformable to the third and fourth manner above-mentioned. The *Komanians* or *Kapchaks* built a large tomb over their dead, according to *Rubruquis's* account, and set their images upon it, with the faces towards the east, holding a drinking cup before their bellies. On the monuments of rich men they erect pyramids, or little conic houses. The *Komanians* were a branch of the Monguls, who, under *Batu-khan's* government, inhabited the country from the *Dnieper* to the *Taik*, and to the river *Kuma*, on the south, which occasioned them to be called *Komanians*; and it was a custom of this people, not only to build a large tomb over their dead, but also to set their images upon it. By this we see, that this practice of burning the corpses of the dead, or casting them to be devoured by birds and beasts (now common among the Monguls and *Khalmucks*), was introduced by the religion of the *Dalai-Lhamà* from Tibet, which was not the religion of the Monguls in the time of *Genghis-khan*, and his first successors. But it is very improperly said, that they *built tombs*, because it was only a tumulus of earth, with a stone image on the top of it; which may be seen very frequently in the desert along the river *Volga*; and I myself found three such images, from which I made drawings, now in the hands of Mr. Duane.

ALL









ALL those accounts will enable us still better to determine with greater certainty the period when these princes were buried. The tumulus with the stone figure at the top shews clearly, that the Monguls had not yet received the religion of the Dalai-Lhamā; and this is an argument that they were buried near the time of Rubbaïkhan; because the Monguls were driven out of China in the year 1370, by *Hong-wu*, founder of the Taii-ming Dynasty; and then a part of those people retired to the north-west and west of China, near Tibet; which makes it probable, it was about this time that the Tibetan religion was introduced among them; and this makes it still more evident, that the princes buried here were Mungalians, of the family of Genghiz-khan, who lived between the years 1295 and 1370.

THESE are the principal observations which I have been able to make upon these Antiquities. An historical account of the Khalmucks, and their religion, literature, and manners, which I intend to publish, may perhaps illustrate such other points as have not been sufficiently investigated.

XXXV. *A Description of the Sepulchral Monument at NewGrange, near Drogheda, in the County of Meath, in Ireland. By Thomas Pownall, Esq; in a Letter to the Rev. Gregory Sharpe, D. D. Master of the Temple.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, June 21, 28, 1770.

REV. SIR,

THE sole object I had in view when I first sat down to write, was to give you an account of a very singular and curious monument of antiquity at New Grange, in the county of Meath, in Ireland; and I meant to have confined this account to a mere description of particulars. But when I came to consider these particulars under reference to the general customs of times more remote than the highest antiquity this monument can be supposed to boast, that consideration opened a field for disquisitions of a much more general and extensive scope.

SEPULCHRAL tumuli, or monuments of earth raised over the dead bodies of great and famous persons, are not confined to the British Isles; but are found dispersed in different parts of Europe. We hear of them in Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Russia, and even the stepps or desarts of Tartary; but with this remarkable circumstance, as Monsieur de Stehlin, secretary of the Imperial academy at Petersburg, informs me, that there is not an instance of one of these tumuli found in any place to the northward of the latitude 58. As these sepulchral monuments are in the language of these north-eastern parts (whence perhaps the custom derived among us) called *Bougors*, it looks as if with the use we had derived also the name given to these monuments; for we call them here Burrows or Barrows.

CURI-

CURIOSITY or avarice has excited many persons at different periods to examine into the interior parts of those repositories of the dead; the former in hopes of recovering from the oblivion of the grave something at least which might give an insight into the manners and customs of former times, which might become a leading mark to the reviviscence of the history of those times; the other, instigated only by the sordid hope of plunder. In ransacking the smaller Barrows in almost every country, bits of bridles, heads of spears, pole-axes, swords, glass-beads, and other trifling ornaments, have been found; as also cinerary urns. But the labour and expence attending the search into the contents of the great Barrows, such as that at Abury called Silbury, that at [a] Marlborough, and others of the like sort, has hitherto deterred individuals, or even small bodies of people, from the attempt; so that those great Barrows, which might seem to promise the highest gratification both to avarice and curiosity, remained long secure against both. Even in Tartary, where the people formed themselves into little plundering parties, in order to derive a kind of traffick from the pillage of those sepulchral tumuli, the great ones escaped their rapine; so that for many ages the contents of these great Barrows continued sacred and secret. For several ages, in like manner, the Pyramids of Egypt (those mountains of architecture) remained as much a mystery in respect of their interior contents, as they were objects of wonder from their exterior enormous bulk.

ACCIDENT, in a course of time, has, in some, and motives of curiosity, assisted by the authority of government, have, in others, led to a search and discovery of the contents of the largest of these sepulchral monuments. Some of the great Barrows in the stepps of Tartary have of late years been opened and examined by order of the Russian government; and very curious discoveries have been made, as I shall explain in the course of this letter. A cemetery, containing matters of considerable value, as well as

[a] Marlborough has been examined, and nothing material found in it.

of great curiosity, was found at the centre of the base of one of the largest of them.

IN the largest of the Egyptian Pyramids accident discovered an opening, which led by two succeeding galleries to a square room in the centre of the Pyramid, containing a large tomb. What was found there (if any thing was found) was secreted, and must for ever remain as unknown, as if the centre of this monument had remained unprophaned.

ACCIDENT in like manner about the end of the last century discovered an opening in the side of the great Pyramid at New Grange in Ireland; and this aperture, by a like gallery, led in like manner to a cemetery composed of three tabernacles or niches in the centre of the base.

ACCIDENTS so similar, coinciding in so strangely similar discoveries, opened to me views of inquiry, which my curiosity could not resist. Being in Ireland last year, I determined to examine these matters on the spot with my own eyes.

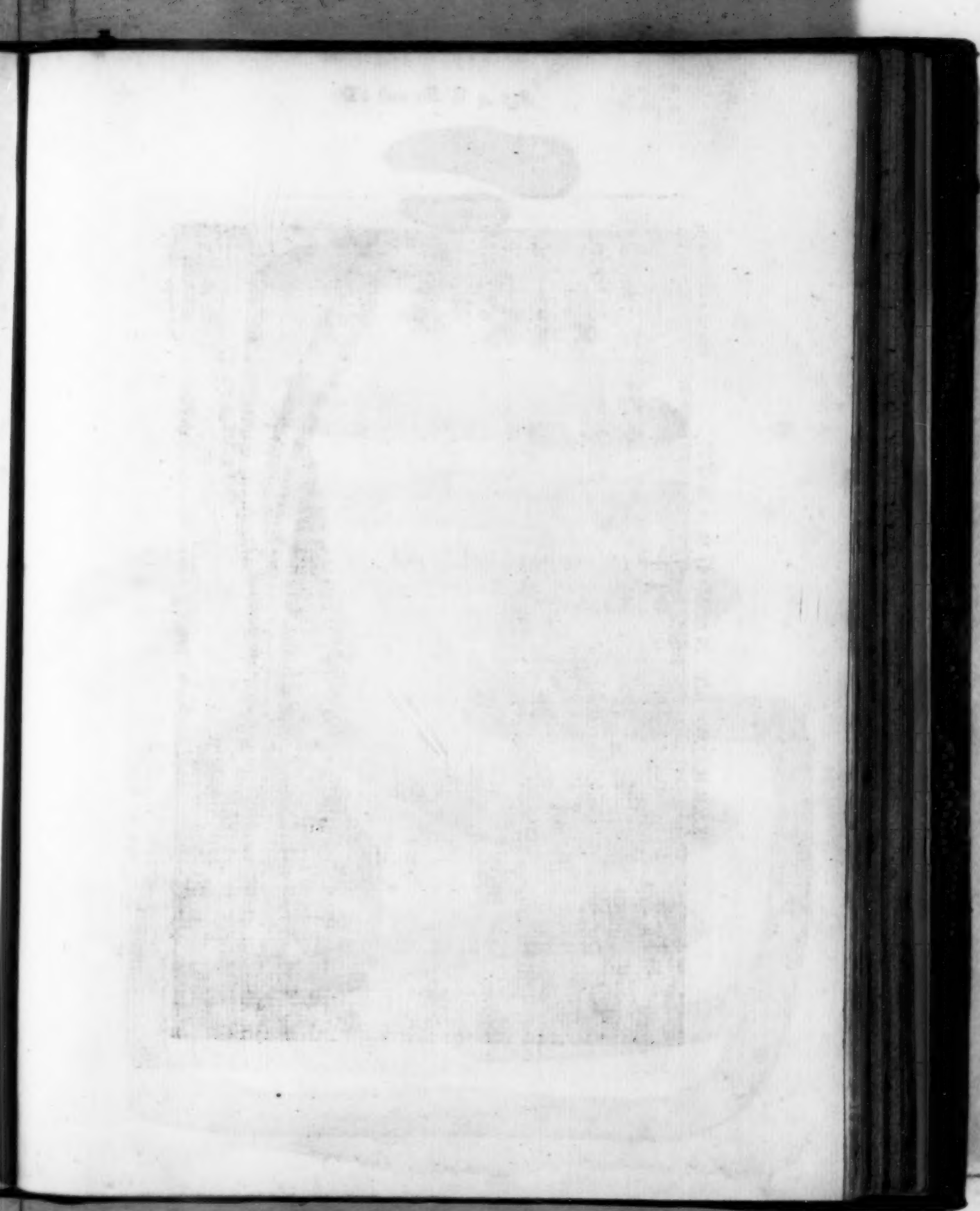
BY the civility of Mr. Boyd, merchant of Dublin, who went with me to Drogheda, I was introduced to the acquaintance of Dr. Norris, master of the great school there; who very politely offering to conduct me to New Grange, I profited of so agreeable an opportunity.

OUR road ran on the north and west side of the river Boyne. In our way we passed by the famous ford, where I had the pleasure to survey the very scene of the principal action of the battle of the Boyne. An elegant obelisk is erected there, in perpetual memorial of that glorious event, and a society instituted for the annual celebration of that day, as of an era of civil liberty. Mr. Wright has prefixed to his *Louthiana* a neat and accurate drawing of this monument—From hence, crossing a little brook which runs into the Boyne, we passed on to the seat of Lord Neterville, in the county of Meath. The whole of the land on the north and west

To face vol. II. p. 238.

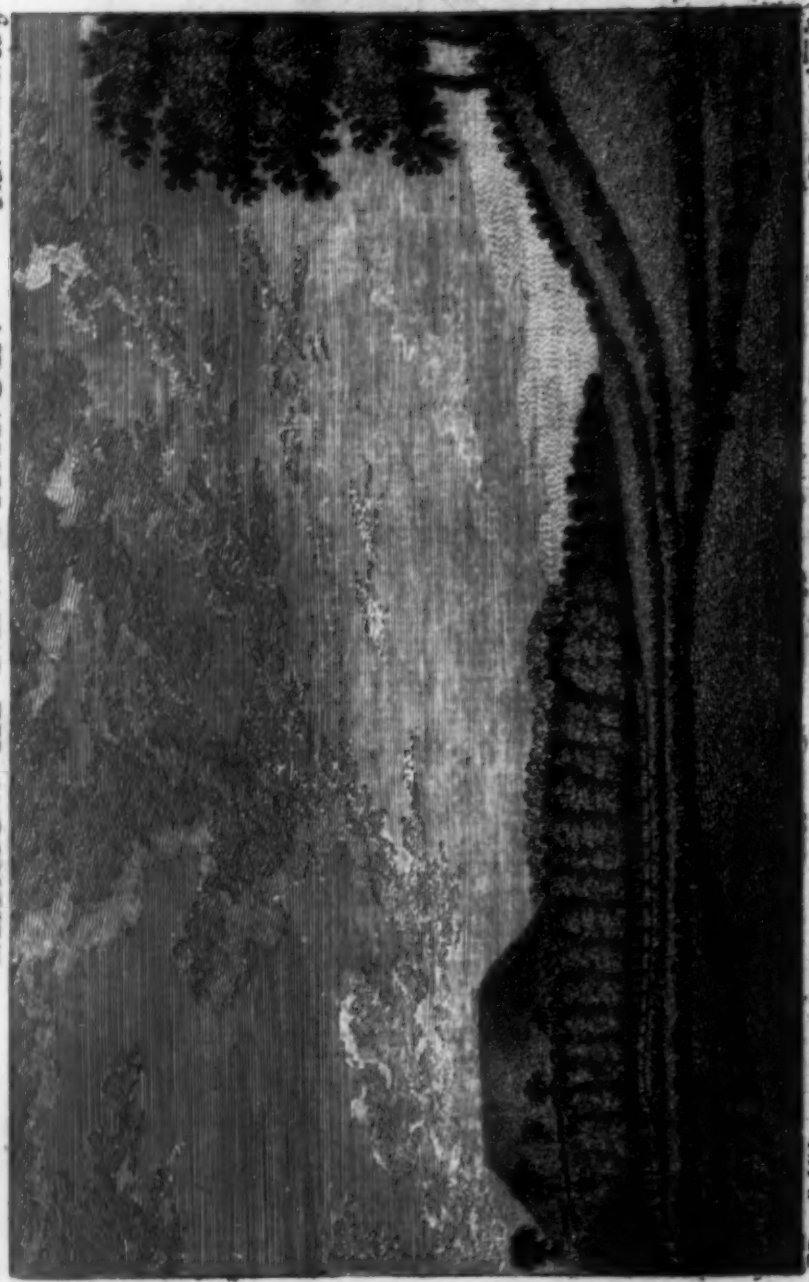






BARROW AT NEW-GRANGE.

Plate XIX. P. 239



J. G. S. del.

J. G. S. del.

side of the Boyne is high ground. The site of Lord Neterville's house, where the river and land make a suture, is more eminent than the rest. On the left hand of the road, as you ascend the hill, is an ancient monument, composed of a circle of large unhewn stones, set on end; with the remains of a Kistvaen forming the north side thereof. This is undoubtedly an erection of Druid superstition. I paced the diameter of this circle, and, as well as I recollect, it is not above one and twenty feet. The stones are large and massive, and about five and six feet high. There remain [a] eight of these stones together in one part of the circle; two in another part; and one by itself. On the left hand from the entrance into the circle, lies a flat stone, which seems to have been either the top of a *Kistvaen* or a *Crómlech*.

ABOUT a hundred yards in the same line further from the road are the *vestigia* of an oval camp, which is certainly Danish. As the road advances, just on the brow of the hill, and before it descends again to New Grange, there is on the left hand a very large tumulus or barrow, under which (report says) there is a cove like that at New Grange. It is now (like the mount at Marlborough) improved into a garden mount, planted with trees; and on the top of it is built a modern ornamental temple. From hence the road descends, for more than a mile, to New Grange.

FROM this hill I made a hasty sketch of the great barrow at New Grange and its environs [b]. The lanes about it are planted with rows of trees. And the country forms an ornamented landscape, uncommon in Ireland. The pyramid, if I may so call it, built on a rising ground, and heaving its bulky mass over the tops of the trees, and above the face of the country, with dimensions of a scale greater than the objects which surround it, appears, though now but a ruinous frustum of what it once was, a superb

[a] This Druid circle now stands on the brink of a stone quarry; and the labourers were at work close under it; so that in a year or two it may be undermined, and thrown down.

[b] See Plate XIX.

and eminently magnificent monument. Homer speaks of such an one, in a like eminent situation, seen at a distance.

Σῆμά τέ οἱ χεύσων ἐπὶ πλατῆϊ Ἑλλησπόνῳ,

Καὶ ποτὶ τις εἴπῃσι καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἀνθρώπων

Νῆϊ πολυκλήιδι πλέων ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόρον,

Ἄνδρος μὲν τόδῃ σῆμα πάλαι καθ' ἑθνηῶτος. Iliad. L. vii. l. 86.

He gives a view of another of these tumuli or barrows in his prospect of Mount Cyllene in Arcadia; and speaks of it as a curious piece of antiquity, and as a land-mark even at the time of the siege of Troy:

Οἳ δ' εἶχον Ἀρκαδίην, ὑπὸ Κηλλήνης ὄρος αἰπὺ

Αἰπύτιον παρὰ τύμβον.

Iliad. L. ii. l. 606.

THIS last sepulchral monument Pausanias, in his Arcadica, or eighth book, c. 16, thus describes; "I contemplated the tomb of Æpytus with a studious and curious reverence, because Homer mentions it in so marked a point of view. It is a tumulus of earth of no great size, surrounded at the foot or base with a circle of stones. But it is probable, from the admiration with which Homer seems to speak of it, he had never seen a more considerable one [c]."

In pointing out to your view our Irish pyramid at the first approach to it, I have applied these apposite descriptions of similar monuments in the words of Homer, as they will convey to your imagination in purer soberer colouring, ideas of more reverential antiquity than any words of modern days can do.

PERMIT me, as we advance along the road to this noble monument, to submit to your opinion some ideas, which I have long indulged in contemplation; and which more forcibly struck me on

[c] Τὸν δὲ τῷ Αἰπύτῃ τάφον σπουδῇ μάλιστα ἰθεασάμενος, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἐς τὰς Ἀρκαδίας ἱστοίαις ἔσχετο Ὅμηρος λέγον τῷ Αἰπύτῃ μνῆματος. Ἐστὶ μὲν ἂν γὰρ χεῦμα ἢ μέλας, λίθος κρητῆδι ἐν κύκλῳ περιεχόμενον. Ὅμηρος δὲ (ὃ γὰρ ἴδον ἀξιολοώτερον μνημα) εἰκότως παρίκειν ἡμίλλῃ θαῦμα.

this

this occasion, respecting the inhabitants of the European parts of our globe, and the migrations of these colonies which superseded or intermixed with them.

THIS globe of earth hath, according to the process of its nature, existed under a successive change of forms; and been inhabited by various species of mankind, living under various modes of life, suited to that peculiar state of the earth in which they existed. The face of the earth being originally every where covered with wood, except where water prevailed, the first human inhabitants of it were *Woodland-men*, living on the fruits, fish, and game of the forest. To these the *Land-worker* succeeded. He settled on the land, became a fixed inhabitant, and increased and multiplied. Where-ever the *Land-worker* came, he, as at this day, eat out the thinly scattered race of *Wood-men*. Whatever gentile or family names the several nations or tribes of men on the earth might bear amongst themselves in their first natural state; as for example, *Cumbri*, *Umbri*, *Volgi*, *Bolgæ*, or *Belgæ*, *Tihtans*, &c. &c. &c. yet where-ever the land-worker came and settled, the original inhabitants, who continued the sylvan life, acquired the distinguishing appellative of *Woodsmen* or *Woldsmen*. When the Assyrians first began to clear and cultivate the earth [d], *those who dwell in the wilderness* were called *Caldees*. In like manner, when the borders of Europe began to be settled and cultivated by the *Land-worker*, we hear of the *Celts* from the utmost bounds of the east to those of the west, variously pronounced *Kbaltee*, *Qbaltee*, *Gualtee*, *Galatee*; from *Kbaldt*, *Waldt*, an original word signifying *Wood*. In like manner, those woods, hills, or downs, which in the most western part of Europe have been called *Dun-keldt*; in the eastern, in Greece especially, are called *Calydonian*. Nay, our *Wolds* in the southern, as well as the northern parts of Britain, were by the Romans universally called *Calydonia*. The description of this great revolution in our world, when the *Land-worker*, superseded

[d] *Isaiab*, chap. xxiii, ver 13.

ding the sylvan life, as it successively took place in different nations at different times, is revealed to us in the historical parts of our Holy Bible, thrown into a genealogical form and order; and in Homer, in the *Odyssey* especially, we read accounts and very particular descriptions of some of the remains of these ancient inhabitants continuing their old sylvan life, represented as giants and savages.

As my present inquiries are confined to the Celts of the British Isles, I shall only mention those Land-workers, who, in the course of their commerce and colonization, or in the progress of their migrations and civilization, extended themselves in Europe, so as to reach these Isles. I enter into a description of these, because some of their customs and modes of life, mixing with the first rudiments of civilization, serve as the ground-work for explaining many particulars continued down from them to very late times; many of which remain even to this day.

In the very earliest periods of history we find, that a northern tribe of Arabs, since known by the name of *Sarceni*, or the red-tribe, but originally by that of *Edomites*, which signifies the same thing, seated themselves chiefly on the borders of the Arabic gulph, called from them the Sea of Edom, or the Red Sea. These people, situated thus between India and Europe, possessed and conducted the combined traffick of the Indian and Mediterranean Seas. The commerce which they carried on, and the colonies which they settled, might be traced throughout almost every part of these extensive and widely distant regions. We meet with these people in divers places under various appellations; as *Edomites*, *Erythræans*, *Phœnicians*, *Pœni*, all signifying the same thing, as also *Tyrrhenians* and *Tyrians* and *Etruscans*. They were also called (from their original gentile name) *Iberians*; sometimes from the names or appellations of the leaders of their colonies, they were called *Cadmæans*, *Heraclides*, and so forth; the name of *Ercol*, *Arcales*, or *Hercules* being common to many of these leaders.

We

We find in Iberia, and at Gades, colonies and ports, deriving their names from maternal towns of the same name in Edom and Phœnicia.

IN the same manner as our East India Company is at this day advancing subordinate *entrepôts* and settlements for trade, from their fixed posts and ports in Bengal, and on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts; so this commercial people advanced for the purposes of commerce (from their great port and colony at Gades) like settlements along the coast of Gaul, and in the British isles. From the mixed race of people found in these isles we may pronounce, that many were of foreign race: and the traces of some of the species point to this original [e]: but it is not to the settlement of colonies, or to the number of colonists in these isles that we are to refer the many customs, works, and words, of Eastern origin which we find here. The civilization and peculiar state of these people is owing to another and peculiar cause.

The same zeal which now animates the missionaries of the Christian faith, did always animate the Magi (or *Gaurs*, as they were sometime called) to propagate their Patriarchal faith and religion amongst the uncivilized inhabitants of the uncultured world. We read of some of their missionaries even in Tartary; and we find them settled in the British isles. In later times they were called by a Celtic name *Druids*; although it is plain they were here in these isles originally called by their Eastern name *Gaurs*; as their great *Bethel* was even in very late times called *Choir-Gaur*. The same spirit, genius, and views, which led the Jesuits, of later days to form *the Missions of Paragua*, led these Magi to fix their residence in Britain, and to form *like Missions* here.

[e] If colonies of these Eastern merchants and people had been settled in Britain, as there were in Iberia, we might somewhere or other have read of the remains of such colonies and people, or have marked the traces of their language in these isles. There are in Spain to this day the remains of some of those colonies who speak the Phœnician language.

To the establishment of these holy fathers the Celtic inhabitants of these isles owe their civilization, the art of husbandry and agriculture. The plough was used, and the flocks were led by their guidance; the sheep are called by an *Eastern* name *David*. As to these they owe the arts of peace; to these also they owe that art of war peculiar to the East, the war-chariot. To these they owed their religion, faith, and religious rites. The national idea of the *one supreme good*; the idea of the present life being an intermediate state of being; and the mystic sacrifice of the Phœnicians, as found amongst these people, are to be referred to the same origin. To the ritual of these priests must be ascribed those anointed pillars of unhewn stone, those holy altars, those Bethels, those sepulchral monuments, and almost every other religious ceremony which is to be found in the history of the patriarchal world. To these ruling teachers is to be ascribed that particular extent of unlettered information, and those peculiar bounds betwixt faith and knowledge, which is found amongst, and which forms the precise character of, these ancient Britons. This mode of character just suits a people who were to be civilized so far as to become useful; but to remain yoked under ignorance so far, as always to move subordinate to their teachers. The remains of these astonishing works among us, which the ignorance of succeeding ages ascribed to magic, as above the power of human nature to effect, must be imputed to the operation of those arts, to the effect of that science, which these learned fathers possessed, and exercised in an amazing degree, but without communicating the principles of those arts to others. The establishment of civil government amongst their proselytes and followers, under the superintendency and direction of their priesthood, took somewhat the form of a theocracy. In that form, though corrupted, it remained even so late as the time of Julius Cæsar's invasion of Britain.

THE missions of these Eastern people were chiefly confined to the south and western parts of these isles; as Cornwall, the Downs of Wilts and Dorset, to Wales and Ireland.

THESE missions were the most early, but not the most general, source of civilization and cultivation in these western parts of the world. There was another, which spread its influence and efficacy almost universally through the southern parts of Europe, to its utmost western bounds, by a regular establishment and communication of government over the whole. A family or tribe, which first appeared in Phrygia, began the civilization of the sylvan race in those parts. From whatever part of the world their tribe or family came, one thing is certain; that they were of a different race from the sylvan inhabitants, or Celts. The one, from the first and earliest mention of them, are called the race of the gods; the other, the race of men. They spoke quite a different language, which was called the language of the gods. The peculiar appellation of the tribe, as well as the words marked in distinction as the language of this race, both point to the race of Teuts, Teüts, Teyts or Titans; which, by interpretation into other languages, have been called gods; and history has given the name of *Mannes* to the first of this race of princes. It is beyond the scope of this paper to pursue the history of this great revolution in the state of the human species of these parts. These matters, with what hath been above said, are but the outlines of a work which has been long under my hands. It is sufficient on this occasion to say, that the system and frame of government established by these princes, the several provinces, and the extent of dominion over which that government prevailed, and the revolutions which it suffered in its progress, may all be traced and planned out. This government became a great maritime power, and extended itself from the Euxine, through all the coasts of the Mediterranean seas. It possessed Phrygia, Thrace, all Greece, Italy, Spain, Gaul, the maritime parts of Africa up to Mount Atlas, and.

and the isles of the Mediterranean. This kingdom of the isles, of Hertha, or of Europe (as it was afterwards called), spread and extended itself by civilizing the aboriginal inhabitants, rather than by the introduction of foreign ones. The several princes of this reigning family made this system of civilization (the building of towns, and the forming of the inhabitants into provinces) the study and business of their lives. They were constantly engaged in travels and voyages pointed to this great purpose; they introduced the art of sowing bread corn, the culture of the olive and of the vine; they imported horses; taught, or at least propagated, the use of letters, and many of the other arts attendant on commerce and polity.

CABALS in the reigning family soon called up faction in the state; and led to rebellion almost as soon as it became a state. As this reigning family of the gods mixed its generation with the people, the latter bore their share in the cabals and factions; and rebellions and revolutions are almost the only state facts recorded in its history. The monarchy, such as it was, survived to the time of Jupiter; continued under perpetual convulsions during his reign; and, as his reign ended, broke to pieces, and was divided into as many separate governments as it had distinct provinces, or different interests. This catastrophe took place about four or five ages before the period of the Trojan war. The western provinces, under the command of *Dis*, became a separate state. Phrygia with Thrace, and Greece with the Isles, were governed by different rival branches of the family; and under the influence of different rival interests, *the two rival maritime powers* of the then world commenced. This rivalry ended in the total subversion of one of them; that is, of the Phrygian or Trojan empire, by the destruction of *Ilium*, its capital.

HISTORY, as it is called, commences at this period; and therefore all those nations of Europe who have retained any tradition of
of

of the derivation of their original civilization, of the forming of their community, and of the first establishment of government amongst them, which did in fact derive primarily from this Phrygian race of princes, trace back their national history, through the medium of false learning, up to the events of the Trojan war, and the supposed dispersion of the princes of that kingdom.

To the operation of a foppery of a like nature as has influenced other nations (meeting with facts similar, and alike misunderstood) is to be imputed the fabulous tradition, that Brutus with his Trojans planted and civilized the British Isles, and was the founder of the British Kingdom.

MANY of the customs and manners of the people, many parts of the system of the government of this kingdom of Europe, are found blended with the customs, manners, and system, of our ancestors. The religion alone, which remained under the Druid succession, was never altered by any of the civil revolutions; but continued equally to preside here in its theocratic form. Vestiges of the language universally spoken by the Celtic people may be traced in the unaltered names of mountains and regions; from Pendennis in Cilicia, to Pendennis in Cornwall [f]. I have elsewhere marked and explained some of the customs of these people. I shall here only remind you, that sepulchral monuments, of exactly the same form and nature as were universally used by our ancestors, existed, even as matters of antiquity, in almost all parts of this dissolved kingdom, prior to the period of the Trojan war.

BESIDES these two sources of civilization and cultivation, to which we may trace up many parts of the British system, there remains a third.

[f] It is not merely from the etymology of the words Dodona and Selloi, that this temple, and its priests and prophetic oaks, may be proved to be originally a Celtic establishment, latterly adopted by the Greeks; but history confirms the fact. It will however be sufficient here to say, that in the Celtic language Dodona signifies God's-hill, Duw-dun; and Selloi signifies Seers, or those who foresee things afar off.

ANOTHER

ANOTHER tribe or branch deriving from the same stem as the race of Gods above-mentioned, having become settlers and land-workers on the western borders of the Euxine sea, became, from their abundant population, a hive, from whence many successive swarms came forth, and colonized through the middle and north-western parts of Europe. These were of a different race from the aboriginal inhabitants, and spoke also a different language. The spirit of this people being perhaps of a rougher temper and sharper cast than the Phrygian race, prompted a different mode of settling themselves. They extended themselves over land, sometimes as it were eating out the thinly scattered inhabitants of the woods, by slow and progressive settlements of their increasing progeny; at other times driving back the old inhabitants, and taking possession by force of arms, of large tracts of the country at once. These people, originally called also Tihians, Teütönes, or Teütschs, had, by their separation from their nation, acquired the appellation of Getæ. Their colonies and settlements took various appellations, from the nature of the country where they sat down, from the nature of their arms, from the character of their manners, and from a variety of other circumstances. The first of these people who reached the British Isles, came hither under the appellation of Belgæ, Bolg, or Volg; and settled in the southern parts of the British Isles. These arrived long before the Romans advanced their standards hither. The next who came were Saffons or Saxons; they settled at first on the eastern coasts of the island. This tribe arrived here at the period when the Romans had abandoned Britain. To these the present system of government and laws, the present language of the country, the customs and manners which now universally prevail, are owing in the first general instance and degree. This people did not settle trading factories amidst the natives for the purpose of commerce, as the Edomites and Phœnicians had done. They did not extend their empire by civilization and communication of their government to the people

ple amongst whom they sat down, as was the spirit of the Phrygian system; but they established themselves by conquest, either driving off or exterminating the inhabitants of the country which they conquered, or reducing them (some exceptions admitted) to absolute slavery.

At a period some centuries subsequent to this, swarms of the same people, living in the north-western maritime parts of Europe, and chiefly on the coasts, and in the isles of the Baltic, formed naval expeditions, and invaded this country for the purpose, first, of piracy and plunder, and finally, for the acquisition of territory and dominion. The appellation of Danes or Normen was given to them, and sometimes that of Oostmen. This people acquired possessions in the maritime provinces of the British Isles, from the north eastern round to the western coasts, and their descendants remain there to this day. They possessed and held the dominion of the northern isles and of all Ireland for some centuries. These people had arrived at great skill in naval affairs, had a practical experience in the art military, and their leaders were able statesmen, as well as expert admirals and generals. Those who know what it is to fit out a naval expedition, who know what it is to conduct and support a great army, who can trace the marches of these armies in that system of camps and fortified posts, by which they secured themselves, and fixed their command of the country; they, I say, who attend to these points, and then enter into the wise and assured manner in which these people possessed and governed the countries which they have conquered, will conceive highly of the advancement to which their community must have arisen, both in civil polity, as well as the art military, though the politer arts and learned sciences still lay neglected and unknown by them. They who see this people in the light in which their works and actions exhibit them, will revolt at the home-bread ideas which the histories of our poor cloistered Monks give of those expeditions and conquests; as

though they were the inroads only of a mere rabble rout of savage pirates.

THESE Danes or Normans were only different swarms from the same hive, as the Angles and Saxons. They were all progenerated colonies from a Scythian or Tartar race. The explanation of many of our antiquities must depend upon the customs and manners of those colonies being well understood, as well as those of the mother tribe, from whence they were derived. The mode of burial, and the species of sepulchral monument now under our view and consideration, may be traced through Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Poland, to the stepps of Tartary. An example of one to which I shall particularly refer, and which I shall particularly describe, agrees almost in every circumstance with this under our eyes.

MANY the most remote antiquities of our isle are remains of the customs of those different races of people possessing the same regions at different periods of time, and living, in succession one after another, under different modes of life. Under a general reference therefore to these customs, I beg leave to conduct you to this great sepulchral pyramid which I am now about to describe. We shall have occasion to use such reference, in the explication of the different parts of this monument.

As most, if not all, the Barrows which we know of (a few small earneddas excepted) are formed of earth, you will, upon your approach to this, be surprized to find it a pyramid of stone, compiled of pebble or cogle stones, such as are commonly used in paving. The labour of collecting such a prodigious mass of materials, although they had lain near the spot, would have been a work almost inconceivably great. But what conceptions must we have of the expence of labour and time, and of the number of hands necessary to such a work, when we understand that these stones must have been brought hither not less than twelve or fourteen miles from the sea coast, at the mouth of the Boyne! Such materials lie

scattered

there;

there; but I am assured, by gentlemen who know the country where this monument is erected, that there are no such stones as it is composed of to be found within-land. When I add to all this, that, upon a calculation raised from the most moderate state of its measurements, the solid contents of this stupendous pile amount to one hundred and eighty-nine-thousand tons weight of stone, your astonishment must, I think, be raised to the highest pitch.

BEFORE I proceed to give a more full and particular description hereof, it may not be improper to take notice of such accounts as have been already given of this monument. That by Mr. Edward Lhwyd [g] is conceived in too general terms; and that given by Dr. Thomas Molineux, first published in the Philosophical Transactions, N^o 335 and 336, and afterwards in his discourse on Danish forts in Ireland, annexed to the Natural History of Ireland, and copied into the late editions of Ware's History, was composed from a narrative and drawing given by Mr. Samuel Molineux, a young gentleman of the college of Dublin. The measurements are not exact; his observations upon particular parts are hasty, inattentive, and not just; and the drawings are mere deformities, made out at random. The account therefore which the Doctor gives is of that kind, which one might expect from such imperfect materials. Mr. Wright says he was on the spot, and in the cave, as it is called, and made some drawings of the cells in it; yet the account he gives in his Louthiana is but short, and little more than a transcript from Dr. Molineux; which is the more to be regretted, as he has an eye of precision, is an excellent draughtsman, and has been very accurate and distinct in all the other accounts which he has hitherto published.

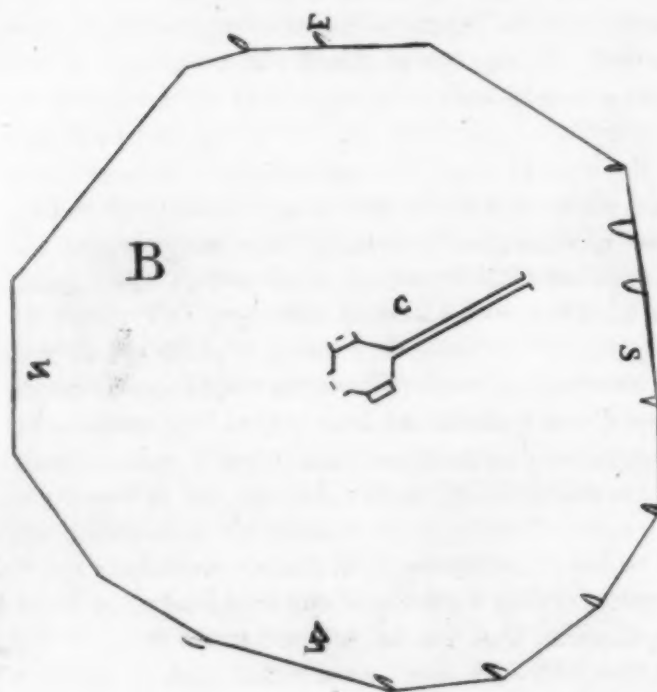
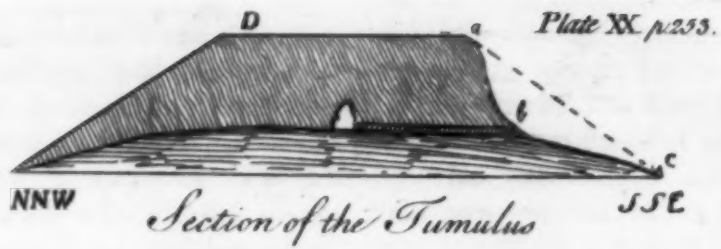
BESIDES the more general observations and measurements which I made on the spot, and the sketches which I took of the whole, and of its parts, I engaged Dr. Norris to employ a person to make a particular measurement of the base and altitude of the pyramid;

[g] Letter to Mr. Rowlands, at the end of *Mona Antiqua*.

and to measure the gallery and cave, and every stone of which the gallery and cave is formed. This was done by Mr. Samuel Bovie, a land-surveyor in that part of the country. I have every reason to confide in his *actual measurements*, though I have some reason to doubt of his *projection* of the altitude. The form indeed of the ground on which this pyramid stands makes that projection a matter of some difficulty. Dr. Molineux, who agrees nearly with Mr. Bovie in the actual measurements, which I find to correspond with my own notes, says, that the altitude is 150 feet, while Mr. Bovie makes it but 42. Neither of these accounts can be right; but Mr. Bovie, in my opinion, approaches nearest to the truth; for from a projection made upon a medium of the measurements given by Dr. Molineux, and those at different times received from Mr. Bovie, I make the altitude to be about 56 feet from the horizontal line of the floor of the cave; to which adding the segments of the curve of the ground on which it stands, being about 14 feet more, I make the altitude in the whole about 70 feet. This projection forms a figure exactly of the same contour as the draught which I sketched on the spot gives; and as my eye, from a habit acquired by drawing from nature, will judge of outlines and angles with an accuracy nearly approaching to measurement, I find myself from this concurrence the rather more confirmed in my opinion. How Dr. Molineux could be led into the mistake that the altitude was 150 feet, I cannot conceive. For if this monument, which is at present but a ruin of what it was, could be supposed ever to have been a perfect pyramid, it could not be much above 100 feet, as any one, continuing the lines of the sides to their interfections, will see. But even that supposition cannot take place, as Dr. Molineux mentions the circumference of the top nearly in the same numbers as Mr. Bovie makes it; and that the top so described by him was the perfect finishing of this monument is plain, as he mentions that one of the large columnal unhewn stones was set upon it.

July 11 1881





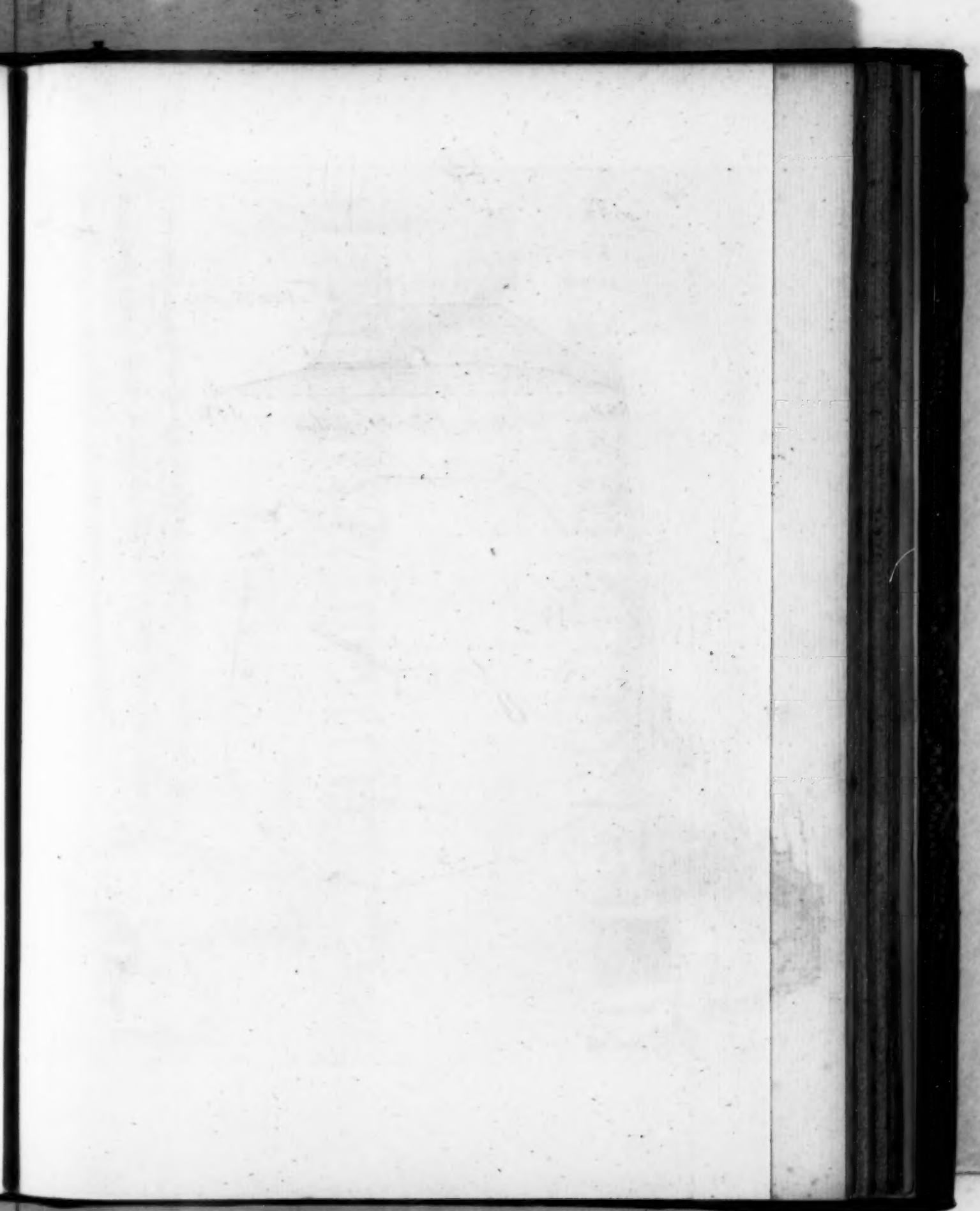


Plate XXI. 7. 2. 1.

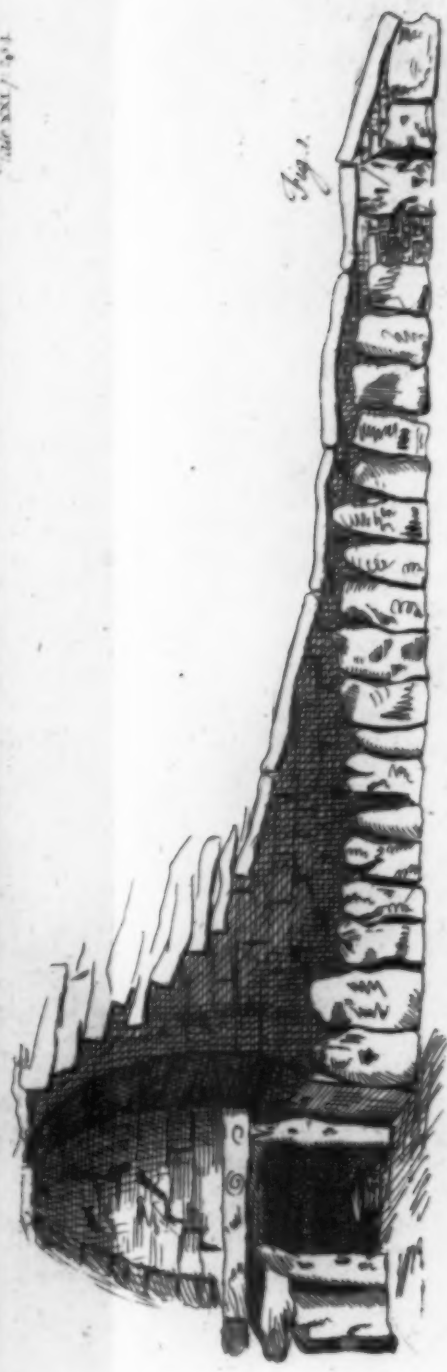


Fig. 1.

Perspective Sections



Fig. 2.

Plan of the Gallery & Cemetery

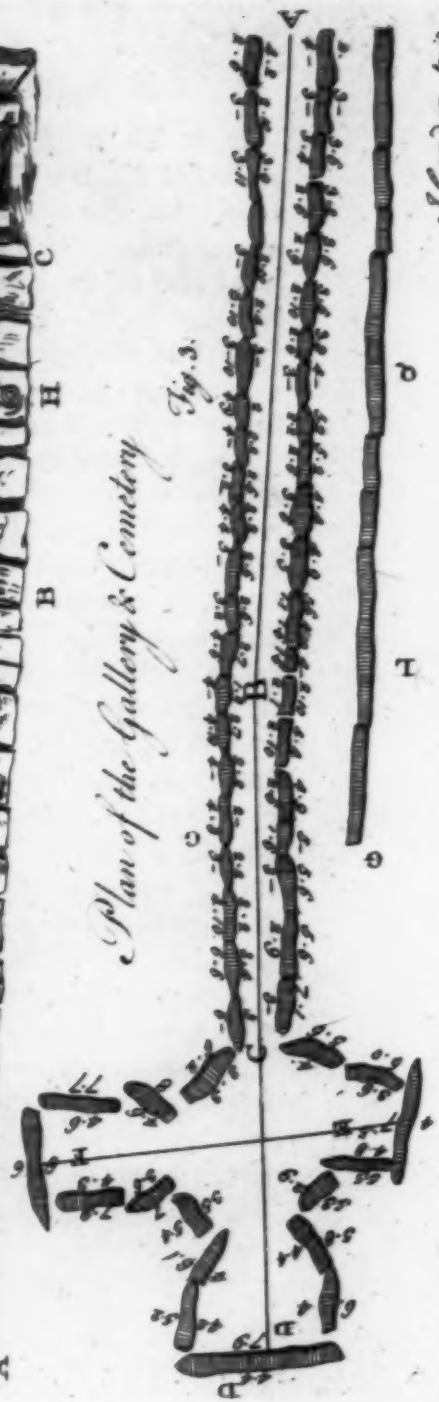


Fig. 3.

London 1818

J. Burnell del.

IN Pl. XX. the figure B gives the plan of the base drawn according to Mr. Bovie's stations in measuring it; but you must understand, that the periphery of the real figure is curvilinear, not rectilinear. This base covers about two acres of ground. C is the plan of the cave and of the gallery leading to it; as it bears 24° N. W. D is the section of the pyramid, and of the ground on which it stands projected from a medium of the various numbers I have received. The whole is laid down by a scale of 84 feet to an inch.

THIS pyramid was encircled at the base with a number of enormous unhewn stones, set upright, of which ten were remaining when I was on the spot. These you will see marked in the plan. Nine of them are still in their erect posture, the tenth is thrown down. I measured many of these stones, and found them from seven to nine feet high above ground; that which is thrown down, and lies quite out of the ground, measured near eleven feet. Their forms are various and anomalous. Upon a rough estimate they may be supposed to weigh from eight to twelve tons each. Mr. Lhwyd says, there was a stone of considerable bulk erected on the summit of this pyramid, of the same anomalous form as the others, but of less size. But there were no remains of such, when I was there. Many such stones as these are found on the sea-coast, as Dr. Norris, in answer to a particular inquiry made by me, informs me; and these must certainly have been brought from thence [b].

THE pyramid, in its present state, is, as I said, but a ruin of what it was. It has long served as a stone quarry to the country round about. All the roads in the neighbourhood are paved with its stones; immense quantities have been taken away. Mr. Lhwyd mentions the particular instance which gave occasion to the discovery of the gallery that leads to the cemetery. The mouth of

[b] The reader will find, in a postscript to this letter, some account of the removing of these immense masses of stone; and of the method which I supposed to be used by the antients, as I collected that method from Herodotus.

this

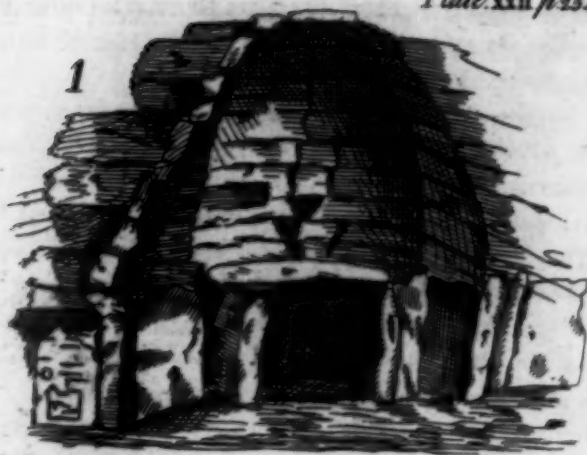
this gallery, under the perfect state of the monument, lay concealed and shut up near 40 feet within the body of the pile. The dotted line *a b*, in the section D, Pl. XX. gives the supposed perfect side. The triangle *a, b, c*, is the hollow space from whence, as from a stone quarry, the stones have been taken; *b* marks the mouth of the gallery. This gallery is formed by large flag stones. Those which compose its sides are set on edge, and are of different altitudes, from two to seven feet high, and of various breadths from two to three feet six inches, as may be seen by the figures in the plan Pl. XXI; where the figures on the outside denote the altitude of the stones; those on the inside their breadth. The thickness of each could not be taken with any certainty; but some of the large ones which form the cemetery are from one foot and an half to two feet thick.

FIG. 1 and 2 in Pl. XXI. give perspective sections of the gallery, and of the east and west tabernacles or niches in the cemetery. Fig. 1. in the succeeding plate is a perspective section of the north side opposite to the entrance.

ONE of the stones marked Q, fig. 3. Pl. XXI. which lies across, and forms part of the top or roof of the gallery, is thirteen feet long, and five feet broad; another at L is eleven feet long, and four feet six inches broad.

THIS gallery at the mouth is three feet wide, and two feet high. At thirteen feet from the mouth it is only two feet two inches wide at the bottom, and of an indeterminate width and height. Four of the side stones, beginning from the fifth on the right hand, or eastern side, stand now leaning over to the opposite side; so that here the passage is scarce permeable. We made our way by creeping on our hands and knees till we came to this part. Here we were forced to turn upon our sides, and edge ourselves on with one elbow and one foot. After we had passed this strait, we were enabled to stand; and, by degrees, as we advanced farther, we could walk upright, as the height above us increased from six to nine feet. At H in the section fig. 2. Pl. XXI. I observed,

Plate: xxii p 254.



Plan of the Concave.



View of the Keck Basin.



T. Burnell del.

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served, that on one of the side stones were the traces of a spiral line; but whether meant for any emblem, or whether having any reference to this building, I leave to the curious to decide. Were I to indulge my own conjecture, I should rather suppose, that this stone, as well as some others in the compilation of this structure, had formerly belonged to some other monument of a much more ancient date, and that they were brought from the sea coast indiscriminately with the rest of the materials; and without knowledge of their contents, as well as without reference to the place they were here fixed in, being placed just as the shape of the stone suited the place assigned it. The distance from A to B in the ground plot Pl. XXI. fig. 3. is 41 feet; from B to C is 19 feet 4 inches; from C to D 19 feet 2 inches; from E to F 21 feet. You will observe from the plan, that, although the cemetery is an irregular polygon, yet it is such an octagon as might be supposed to be formed with such rough materials into so rude a style of architecture. The dome of this cave or cemetery springs at various unequal heights, from eight to nine and ten feet on different sides, forming at first a coving of eight sides. At the height of fifteen or sixteen feet the north and south sides of this coving run to a point like a gore, and the coving continues its spring with six sides; the east side coming to a point next, it is reduced to five sides, the west next; and the dome ends and closes with four sides; not tied with a key stone, but capped with a flat flag stone of three feet ten inches by three feet five. The construction of this dome is not formed by key stones, whose sides are the radii of a circle, or of an ellipsis converging to a center. It is combined with great long flat stones, each of the upper stones projecting a little beyond the end of that immediately beneath it; the part projecting, and weight supported by it, bearing so small a proportion to the weight which presses down the part supported, the greater the general weight is which is laid upon such a cove, the firmer it is compacted in all its parts. This will appear without any further explanation from a bare inspection of fig. 1. and 2. in Pl. XXI.

THE

THE eight sides of this polygon are thus formed. The aperture which forms the entrance, and the three niches, or tabernacles, make four sides, and the four imposts the other four. Upon the whole, this cemetery is an octagon with a dome of about 20 feet in height, and of an area which may be circumscribed within a circle of seventeen feet, or seventeen and an half. Fig. 1. Pl. XXII. gives a view of the tabernacle opposite to the entrance, as fig. 1. and 2. Pl. XXI. do of the two side ones. I will begin my description with that on the east, or right hand; each side of this consists of two stones standing erect, in the position, and of the dimensions, as marked in the plan fig. 3. Pl. XXI.; the back is formed by a large flat stone laid edgeways at its length; its position and dimensions are also marked in the same plan. The whole is covered with one large flat stone, sloping towards the back, and thus forms what, in the language of the old British inhabitants, is called a Kistvaën. The northern tabernacle is constructed exactly as the eastern one. The other on the western, or left hand side differs, each side of it being composed but of one single stone, as may be seen in the plan. When the back stone does not reach quite up to the top covering stone, there the space is completed by a kind of masonry of three courses. The northern tabernacle hath for its floor a long flat stone, six feet eight inches long, by four feet eleven inches broad. The two side niches have no other floor but the natural ground. They have however each of them a rock basin placed within them. That in the left hand nich stands on the natural ground. That on the right is placed upon a kind of base. It appeared to me, when I made my sketch, rather convex than as it is described by others, and as given to me by Mr. Bovie. But herein I may have been misled by the earth which lay about it. As this basin seemed to have the sides of its concave fluted, I desired particularly that the surveyor might clean it, and wash it; that if there was any thing singular, it might be observed. Nothing particular

was

was found there ; so take the draught just as I first sketched it. The bason on the right hand, as the surveyor gives me the measure, is four feet nine inches, by three feet four ; as I measured it, it is three feet eleven inches, by three feet five. The surveyor's measure of the base is six feet, by five feet four inches. The bason in the left hand tabernacle is exactly of the same form as the other ; its dimensions four feet four inches, by three feet seven. In the narrow point of its oval it is two feet broad. Dr. Molineux, in his account of this cemetery, says, that there was a rock bason in each nich ; and, as that stone which I have described as a base, is a concave, forming a bason like the rest, it may, at the first view, seem to give some foundation for this account. But Mr. Lhwyd says expressly, " that in each cell or " apartment on the right and left hand was a broad shallow bason of stone ; the bason on the right hand stood within another ; that on the left hand was single ; and in the apartment " straight forward there was none at all." As this account was prior to the Doctor's, and as both the drawing and plan from which the Doctor wrote describe this base stone (which one might suppose to be the third bason) as actually then standing as a base to the right hand bason, it is clear that the Doctor was mistaken ; and indeed a bare view of the inaccurate plan from which he wrote his description shews how that mistake arose. He was informed of the basons in the side niches, and had a deformed draught of the right hand one. In pursuing his description from inspection of the plan, it is plain that he mistook the plan of the floor stone of the northern nich for that of a bason like those before described ; and by looking on that plan, one sees how easily he might so do. I have employed a more particular precision in describing the peculiar differences in the three several niches or Kistvaëns, as they become to me a ground of a conjecture which I shall submit to you.

EXAMINING very narrowly, with a candle in my hand, all the parts of this cemetery, I discovered on the flat stone which forms the north side of the left hand nich, what I took to be the traces of letters. Their form is given in the wooden cut annexed. These lines were of a breadth and depth in which I could lay the nail of my little finger; and of different lengths from two to six inches. I tried for some time to assign, if possible, these letters to some known alphabet, by comparing them particularly with that of the Beth-luis-nion, or old Irish alphabet; but this produced nothing satisfactory. As I had continued in this cave a much longer time than was prudent, by which I caught a violent illness; and as the tracing these lines with greater accuracy would take up more time than I could then give to it; I gave over the task, referring it to be done at leisure by the surveyor, whom Dr. Norris was so good as to engage. Mr. Bovie accordingly traced this supposed inscription; and, as it appears to me, faithfully, and with due care. The several copies which came from his hands at different times vary somewhat; but the variations are such, as rather mark than discredit the copyist's attention. However, to fix this matter with as much accuracy as could be, I directed a fac-simile to be taken by impression. That which is here represented is what Mr. Bovie sent as such. I hope it is exact, as I have done every thing in my power that it should be so.

THESE characters are evidently neither Irish, Runic, nor Saxon: they have been compared with all the exemplars of every *northern* character; but no traces of any likeness have been found between them. There has not, amongst those whom I have consulted, or to whom these characters have been referred, been the least guess attempted as to any reading of them. I will therefore hazard a conjecture of my own; an use may arise even from conjecture.

LOOKING

LOOKING over Dr. Morton's enlarged edition of Dr. Bernard's table of alphabets, and examining column VIII, which gives the Cadmean or Ionic characters, as used 1400 years before the Christian æra, I think I discover, in the characters there used to express numbers, as likewise in the exemplars given of the Palmyrene numerals, some similarity between them and the forms of this inscription. As one single stroke λ stood for unity: so this repeated to four, stood for 2, 3, 4. The *gimmel*, *gomal*, *gaula*, or *gamma*, when read from right to left thus \neg stood for 5; and the same with units joined to it $\neg \neg \neg$, stood for 8, 7, 6. I find amongst the Sidonian exemplars, that this character β variously written, and exactly as it is written in this inscription, stood for 100. I find from the same table, that the S or S aspirate variously written \mathbb{W} , or as it is written in this inscription \mathbb{W} , stood for 300. The letter Π was also combined with other characters in the marking numbers, now the Π and \mathbb{W} combined together, make one of the very characters in this inscription thus \mathbb{U} . Lastly, in some Egyptian tables I find this character /// several times repeated. By combining these observations together, I have persuaded myself, that this inscription is Phœnician, and contains only numerals; that being, as it now stands, a vacant series of numerals, without reference to any particular epoch or æra, or other circumstance, the stone on which it is cut is a mere fragment; that this fragment is of more ancient date than the building wherein it is found; and that it was brought hither, and used in the structure of this tumulus, without any knowledge of or regard to any characters cut upon it. The situation wherein it is found, and the position in which it stands, are palpable demonstrations of this. Pursuing therefore this reverie, and renouncing all ideas of its being any thing of the Druids (since it is well known they never used any inscriptions whatever) I am

inclined to suppose there may have been, ages before this Barrow was erected, some marine or naval monument erected at the mouth of the Boyne, by some of these Eastern people, to whom the ports of Ireland were well known; that this monument, through the course of events and time, fell into ruin, and that these ruins were collected amongst the rest of the shore-stones with which this Barrow was constructed, and so was intermixed, and became part of it; that the peculiar and secreted situation of this stone became a peculiar means of its being a *singular instance of the preservation of the only eastern or Phœnician inscription found in these countries*. Those whom this conjecture cannot persuade may, however, profit by the hint, and possibly amuse themselves in suggesting some more rational account of this matter. I mean to assist the conjectures of others, not to impose my own.

BEFORE I close this description, I would just observe, that there are on some of the stones which form the sides and backs of the Kistvaëns, lines cut in a spiral form. In the front edge of one of the stones which form the top of the Kistvaëns there appear some lines forming a kind of trellis-work, in small lozenges, such as are not unfrequently seen on Danish monuments and crosses.

HAVING thus finished my description of this monument, permit me now to direct your view to some of those many instances where monuments of a pretty similar nature occur in other countries; and that from Tartary, through both the northern and southern limits of Europe.

THE first which present themselves in this view are the Bougres, in the Stepps of Tartary. We will begin with these from the most early accounts history affords us of them. In the Melpomene of Herodotus, c. 71. it is said, "That the sepulchres of the [Scythian] kings
" are in the country of the Gerrhians, where the Borysthenes is
" first known to be navigable. When their king dies, they dig
" in the ground a great hole of a quadrangular form, and having
" inclosed

“ inclosed the body with wax, they open and cleanse the belly,
“ filling it with bruised rushes, incense, seeds of parsley and annis.
“ After they have sewed it up again, they carry the body in a cha-
“ riot to another province, where those who receive it imitate the
“ royal Scythians in the following custom. They cut off part
“ of one ear, shave their heads, wound themselves in the arms,
“ forehead, and nose, and pierce the left hand with arrows. From
“ thence they conduct the chariot, with the corpse, to another
“ district, whose inhabitants attend it in its progress. Having in
“ this manner carried the dead body of the king through all his
“ dominions, they bury him in the country of the Gerrhians,
“ who inhabit the remotest parts of the kingdom. Here they
“ lay him in the sepulchre, upon a bed, encompassed on all sides
“ with spears fixed in the ground. These they cover with tim-
“ ber, and spread a canopy over the whole monument. In the
“ spaces which remain vacant, they place one of the king’s con-
“ cubines strangled, a cup-bearer, a cook, a groom, a waiter,
“ a messenger, certain horses, and the first fruits of all other
“ things [1]. To these they add cups of *gold*; for silver or brass
“ are not used amongst them. This done, they throw up the
“ *earth* with great care, and endeavour to *raise a mound* as high
“ as they can.” Here we receive from the best and highest au-
thority on account of the Scythian sepultures, and sepulchres.
This account refers us to the very regions where multitudes of
these *Bougres* or *Barrows* exist at this day. Sepulchral monu-
ments of this kind are found throughout all *Tartary* within this
latitude. *Monf. de Stehlin*, counsellor of state, and secretary to
the Academy of Sciences at *St. Petersburg*, in an abridgement of
a *Memoire* which he communicated to me on this subject, ac-
quaints me, that none are found beyond the latitude of 58°; but
only in the southern parts of *Siberia*. He says, they are gene-

[1] Τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀπαρχάς.

rally constructed of earth, thrown up in the form of a cone; but flat on the summit. They are of all dimensions. The circumference of some are of 30 Russian toises, others 50, 100, and even 500 toises. Their altitudes are also various; some of 5, 6, 12, 20, and even 30 Russian toises; each toise measuring seven English feet. The account which the same gentleman gives of the construction of these Calmuck and Tartar Barrows, both of the great and the small ones, corresponds so much with those of our own country, that, to describe the one, we need but to transcribe an account of the other. The matters found in the lesser ones abroad are just such as are commonly found in the smaller Barrows in the British Isles; rotten or burnt bones, arrow and spear heads, and other pieces of iron weapons, with now and then some utensils of copper.

THE position of the bodies, Mons^r. Stehlin says, is universally the same every where. They are laid to the east, or south east.

IN the great Barrows, called by way of distinction, *Majaki*, or *Obolisques*, are commonly found interred, with the human bones or human ashes (for both are found), the skeleton of a horse, or at least the head, with the harness and furniture, of which the ornaments are of gold, or copper gilt; sometimes armour, highly fashioned, and ornamented vases, round dishes of a mixed metal, cast with figures of animals, &c. in relief, but indifferently designed. Sometimes are found burnt bones, mixed with ashes, deposited in an urn or vase. In the very largest and most distinguished Barrows have been found, besides the bones or ashes lying at the centre, the bones of other persons lying round the edges or corners; also the skeletons of many horses, with their furniture all of massive gold; also sheets of beaten gold, bars of gold, weapons of iron, and of copper gilt, sometime plated with gold or silver; as for example, stirrups of iron plated with a silver coating of three or four lines thick; also utensils of gold and silver, little vases of the same metal, bracelets of pure gold, pendants

dents of gold set with pearls, ornaments for the head, neck, and waist, all of gold; also figures of lions, serpents, and foliage of a rude design, and coarse workmanship. There is deposited in the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, a large collection of these rich and very curious pieces of antiquity. The account which *Monsr. de Stehlin* sends me of these Barrows (of which he has seen numbers himself) is taken from the verbal accounts of several members of the Academy at St. Petersburg, who have not only travelled through Siberia, but also resided there for many years; as *Mr. Miller*, *Messrs. Gmelin*, *Fischer*, *Kraschinini*, *Koff*, and *Krassilnikoff*.

To the above I cannot but add an account of the opening one of the largest Barrows in Tartary, by order of the Russian court, under the inspection of an officer, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in London, and printed in the present Volume p. 224, with drawings of the cemetery of this Barrow; as also of many curiosities found in that and other Barrows sent by *Mr. Demidoff* to *Mr. Collinson*, who communicated them to the Society. The account is as follows;

“AFTER removing a very deep covering of earth and stones, the workmen came to three vaults, constructed of unhewn stones and rude workmanship. That wherein the corpse (supposed to be the corpse of the prince, *Chan*, or other great person) was deposited, was in the middle, and was the largest of the three. In it were laid by the side of the corpse a sword, spear, bow, quiver, and arrows. In the vault or cave at his feet lay the skeleton of a horse, with bridle, saddle, and stirrups. In a vault at his head was laid a female skeleton, supposed to be the wife or concubine of the chief. The body of the male corpse lay reclining against the head of the vault, upon a sheet of pure gold, extending the whole length from head to foot; another sheet of gold, of the like dimensions, lay over the body, which was wrapped in a rich mantle bordered with gold, and studded with rubies and emeralds.

emeralds. The head was naked, and without any ornament, as were the neck, breast, and arms. The female corpse lay in like manner reclining against the wall of the cave; was in like manner laid upon a sheet of gold, and covered with another; a golden chain of many links set with rubies went round her neck; on her arms were bracelets of gold. The body was covered with a rich robe, but without any border of gold or jewels. The vestments of both these bodies looked, at the first opening, fair and compleat, but upon the touch crumbled into dust. The four sheets of gold weighed 40 pounds weight."

To obviate the surprize which the imagination may be struck with from the quantity of gold said to be found in these places, I beg to refer your recollection to the account above cited from Herodotus; and to add from Mr. de Stehlin, that amongst the Mongul Tartars there were Hords, called the Jolotaja Hords, or Hords of Gold, from the abundance of that metal, and other riches found amongst them.

MR. FORSTER, one of our members, has given the Society his opinion of these Tartarian Barrows in a curious and learned paper, which precedes this; and means, as I understand, to favour the world with a particular account of these matters. He does not refer them to so high antiquity as I have been induced to do from the authority of Herodotus; but to a period between the years 1294 and 1404 of the Christian æra. Both may be true. To me the testimony of Herodotus, as to these in the country of the Gerrhians, appears irrefragable.

THIS mode of sepulture under Barrows was universally practised amongst the northern people of Europe. It may very well be supposed to be derived from the original custom observed, as we have seen above, in Tartary. For these people, if not branches of the same stem, were formed into civil community, and reduced under government by Odin and his followers, who came from that country,

country, and was of the same race as the Teuts, who had before colonized and settled in a more southern direction.

THERE are in Denmark and Sweden numbers of these Barrows. Many have been opened, and things of the like nature as above described have been found in them. The humour of adorning these sepulchres with enormous rocks of stone seems to be a spirit of magnificence almost peculiar to these northern people. Olaus Wormius says, these sepulchral Barrows are works of no slight labour, or small expence. The length of time, the number of people, and the expence of labour employed on them, rude as they may appear, mark strongly the zealous efforts which they employed to do honour to the deceased, and to perpetuate the glory of their princes, benefactors, and heroes. Filial piety also, eminently powerful in these uncultured breasts, produced the same efforts. Wormius, quoting the Norwegian history, says, "We are there informed that two brothers, petty princes in Naumdhall, engaged themselves for three successive years with very expensive labour in erecting one of these Sepulchral Barrows;" also quoting Saxo's History, he says, "Harald Blaatund, the son of Gormund, employed the whole corps of his navy, with a prodigious number of oxen, applied to the drawing a most enormous rock found on the coast of Jutland with which he intended to ornament the tomb of his mother, and so elate was the pride of his heart on this occasion, that in a kind of triumph upon the idea of the magnificence of this undertaking, he asked one of the officers of his navy, overseeing the work, 'Have you ever heard of any thing of such stupendous grandeur attempted by mortal hands [x]?'"

In short, were I to transcribe from Olaus Wormius, his descriptions of these Barrows encircled with stones, I should almost literally and circumstantially give a description of this Irish Barrow, except that none, of which I have read accounts, are described to be formed of stones, as this is, but merely of earth.

[x] Monum. Dan. lib. i. c. vi.

THE same form of funeral monument was also observed in Sweden, in its most ancient days. An extract from Secretary Peringskiöld's account of these things will be sufficient to prove, and will at the same time illustrate this matter [1]. *Proinde nostri erit operis, ut Valhallæ iustraturi campos, colles sepulchrales ad rei veritatem exprimere conemur. Refert Cl. Verellius in Auctionario notarum ad Hervarar Saga, p. 14, circa veterem sive rusticam Upsalam tumulos sepulchrales visi sexcentos sexaginta novem, præter eos quos rusticum aratrum evertit, ut segetes proferrent, quorum nonnullos trium millium annorum ætatem superare existimat.*

Enimvero hunc numerum sibi constare patebit computanti tumulos illos qui passim in circumjacentibus Friswaldiæ campis conspiciuntur prope prædia veteris Upsalæ, ut et tumulorum istud pratium ad novam Upsalam, qua fluvio vicinum est. His porro si annumerentur tumuli, &c. Here the author goes on to reckon one hundred and eighty of these; præter complures alios qui vel complanati ad ferendas segetes, vel hominum intempestiva curiositate perfossi sunt.

Super omnes autem eminent ad veterem Upsalam tres illi regum tumuli, qui ambitu suo ad radices circiter ccc. ulnas complectuntur. Et vero lxxv gradibus ab imo ejus ad summum usque verticem scanditur, æquali proportionem a singulis lateribus. Nimirum tota ejus circumferentia ducta ab imo per summum usque ad radicem alterius partis, cl. ulnarum deprehenditur, elevato colle in altitudinem xxx ulnas, diametro suo sive latitudine cx ulnas complectente. Retinent hodie nomen illud priscum Kongs Hogarn [m], propter monarcharum Sveoniæ conditoria, quorum corpora post mortem hic cremata, una cum cineribus ossumque reliquiis, atque armis, tumulo familiæ suæ illata sunt. The author then goes on to form conjectures as to their antiquity; and from some passages in the 12th and 13th chapters of the History of the Ynglings, traces up their origin to a period not very remote from Odin.

[1] Monumenta Sævo-Gothica, Lib. I. p. 215, 217.

[m] King's-High-Carn.

THESE northern people, during a long series of years, made repeated inroads into, and kept possession of, many parts of the British Isles, and were in fixed and settled possession of Ireland for near four hundred years. Many of their princes and warriors died in these Isles; and it is certain, that many of the Barrows, found in most parts of Britain and Ireland, are their sepulchral monuments. John Brompton, in his Chronicle, A. D. 873, says, *Dani vero cadaver Hubba inter occisos invenientes, illud cum clamore maximo sepelierunt; cumulum apponentes, quem Hubbelowe vocaverunt; unde sic usque in hodiernum diem locus ille appellatus est, et est in comitatu Devonie.* It will not appear therefore a far-fetched conjecture, if I suppose our Barrow to be of Danish construction. However, as this great monument is of stone, has a cemetery, and a gallery leading to it; and does in these, and many other particulars, so much resemble the stone Barrows and Pyramids which we read of, and which still remain in existence in the more southern parts of our hemisphere; I will just mark some transient circumstances in these, and leave you and the reader to form his own conjectures thereupon.

THERE are still remaining in the Island of Minorca ruins of stone Barrows, constructed in a manner similar to this Irish one; that is to say, of loose stones, piled up in a conic form, with an aperture in their side leading to a cave or vault in the centre.

AT Terrauba, about two miles S. E. and by E. from Alleyor, in Minorca, is an ancient monument, consisting of a mound of earth. At the base of it are the remains of a circle of stones, with large ones set upright, column-wise, at a certain distance in the line of the circle. In one part thereof stands a remarkable one, supporting another laid across upon it. At the top of this mound is a building of rough unhewn stones; its form is that of a frustum of a cone, or perhaps it is the remains of a pyramid; the diameter of it is forty feet. There is a door in the side, five feet

M m 2

high,

high, by three feet wide. There is another stone Barrow of the like form and construction at Trapaco, in the way from the castle of St. Philip to St. Grace. The diameter of this is 97 feet, the height 35 feet.

AGAIN, as this Irish Barrow is so nearly similar in many circumstances to the Pyramids of Egypt, I cannot but observe this conspiring circumstance, and make the following comparison. The great Pyramid near Gize has a cemetery in the centre of it, in which is placed a tomb. To this there was a passage by means of a long low gallery, that had been very curiously closed up. The dimensions of this Egyptian cemetery are as follows; "The length of it less than twenty feet, the breadth seventeen, and the height less than fifteen feet; the roof is formed by large smooth stones, not lying flat, but shelving, and meeting above in a kind of arch [n]."

I MUST here beg that you will recall to your mind the description which I have before given of this Irish cemetery. You will find the dimensions to agree with a most surprizing conformity. How similar the construction of the roof! There is a still more singular simularity in the nature of the passage and gallery which lead to the cemetery. This can be accounted for no other way than by supposing, that, being built for the like purposes, namely, that solely of conveying a corpse along them, they conspire in the same dimensions. The entrance into the gallery of the great pyramid is three feet $\frac{1}{4}$ parts. At some distance it is contracted, and that to so narrow a streight, that Mr. Greaves says, it was with difficulty that they passed it, creeping serpent-like on their bellies. In the Egyptian Pyramid there are two galleries succeeding one another. The passage from the one to the other is about three feet square. It is from analogy to this streight in the gallery that I am almost inclined to imagine, that the streight in the gallery of the Irish Pyramid was so formed by design, and not from accident or defect.

[n] Greaves's works, vol. I. p. 130.

THE base and altitude of the great Egyptian Pyramid does indeed so much exceed those of our Irish one, that there our comparison greatly fails; but the base of the third Pyramid being only 300 feet square, would be circumscribed by the circle of the base of our Irish Pyramid, whose diameter is 368 feet. So that this Irish Pyramid may so far hold up its head, amongst even the Egyptian ones. But how different the circumstances of their fate! While the one hath been ranked among the wonders of the world, the other hath been in a manner unnoticed and unknown. Here I may with great propriety apply what Pausanias, in his *Bæotica* [a], says of the Greeks; "That while they were always disposed
"to view with the eye of wonder the works of foreigners
"abroad, they neglected those equally worthy their esteem and
"admiration at home: that, while many of their best writers
"had laid themselves out to describe the Pyramids of Egypt, the
"treasury of Minyas, and the walls of Tyrus, no less to be ad-
"mired than those, were left neglected and unnoticed by them."

AFTER reading the several descriptions above, you will be under no doubt of this stupendous monument being sepulchral; that the cave at the centre is the cemetery thereof; and that the three Kistvaëns, or tabernacles, are the repositories of three several persons of different ranks. As these northern people did certainly use both modes of burial, that of depositing the corpse intire, and that of burning the corpse, and depositing the ashes; one may suppose, and not deviate widely from what appearances point to, that in the front or northern Kistvaën the corpse was deposited intire [p], somewhat in the same manner as we have seen above in the account of the Tartarian Barrow; but that the two side Kistvaëns, containing the rude rock basons, were the repositories of the ashes of some other persons, collected and laid in these basons. I

[a] Book ix. c. 36.

[p] Dr. Molyneux says, *two entire skeletons*, not burnt, were found on the floor in the cave, when first it was opened.

should also, from the marked differences in the construction of the two side Kistvaëns, suppose these to contain the ashes of persons of very different ranks; the one perhaps the son, the other the wife, of the great personage deposited in the front one. From the nature of the Barrow itself, I am led to suppose, that the persons buried in the side Kistvaëns died first; that the basons, or cinerary urns, as I will now call them, were certainly placed in the cemetery at the first building; that the ashes of the persons were there deposited; that the circumference of the Barrow was originally of no larger radius than the length which the gallery gives; that the gallery was left as a passage through which to pass the corpse of the person, who raising this monument, as a sepulchre for his departed friends, intended it finally for his own; and that the gallery in this first state of the Barrow was closed up with a large flat stone at the mouth; but that when this last person died, and was buried here, the Barrow was enlarged to the size and form in which it was finished, and was then ornamented with the circle of great rude columns round the base, and with the column on the top; that then the gallery was of course shut up as many feet within the body of the structure, as it was, at its first discovery, found to be.

To justify this supposition, I will refer to the precedent from which I take this idea, and upon which I think my opinion may be founded. When Achilles had finished the burning of the corpse of his friend Patroclus, he collected the bones and the ashes, and placed them in an urn for interment, over which he raised an earthen pyramid, or barrow, with express design of having his own ashes, when death closed his fate, deposited in the same monument. Now, if there were not some gallery or passage made in this pyramid, how were these ashes to be conveyed to the tomb where those of Patroclus lay. We must therefore suppose, that there was some such passage left. Achilles directs [9] this pyramid to be made of a

[9] Homer, *Iliad* 7. ver. 245—248.

moderate modest size, conformable to the rank of his friend; saying, that when the Greeks shall leave his own remains here, they will hereafter enlarge it on a greater base, and more elevated altitude. When this pyramid was thus finished, after the joining the ashes of Achilles in the same cemetery with those of his friend Patroclus, the passage or gallery would, by the nature of the structure, be closed up and secured; not only as the further use and purport of it was to cease, but also as all access to the remains, now consigned to eternal safety and peace, should rest for ever unapproachable and unprophaned.

WHEN one considers the multitude of hands, the length of time, the boundless expence, which conspired to form this stupendous monument; when one reflects on the transparent spirit of ambition, which formed the idea of this great and simple magnificence, dedicated to the memory of some great person; one cannot but repine at the caprice of fate and fame; that while one sees the magnificence, one finds that the name, which it was to perpetuate, is gone. Such is glory, when it is past; such is fame. One sees the traces of something great and active having passed by; but the thing itself is gone, and is no more known. Its glory was a momentary vision; and the fame of it, like the baseless fabrick of that vision, is dissolved.

I have the honour to be,

Rev. S I R,

Your most obedient;

humble servant,

T. Pownall.

P O S T.

P O S T S C R I P T.

IT hath been always matter of wonder with the vulgar, and a subject of curious disquisition with the learned, to conceive how these unwieldy masses of stone, of a bulk and weight beyond the commonly known powers of man to deal with, could have been moved, conveyed such a length of way as some must have been, and how finally they were raised to such heights. The one have imputed these effects to magicians and giants; the others to operations equally fanciful, though assuming the name of philosophy. History, such as the accounts given by Olaus Wormius, Saxo, and others, simply and unaffectedly informs us, how these great masses were moved by the collected efforts of multitudes of men and cattle, persevering for a long time with patient enduring labour. Although these rude people of the north might originally produce their great works by the mere force of animal strength, yet I am clear, that the works performed under the direction of the Druids were effected by scientific combinations and resolutions of mechanic powers; by methods of the same process as were used in their parent eastern countries; in which we find stones employed of most enormous bulk, especially those of which the pyramids are composed. The account given by Herodotus is plain and precise: He says, " That, after they had built the first stage, or layer, " they raised the stones of the next layer or stage with machines constructed of short timbers. When the stone was thus " raised from the ground by this machine to the first stage, then " another machine of the same kind placed upon the first stage, " raised the stone to the second stage; from thence, by the like " combination of powers, it was again raised to the third; and so " on to the rest successively. As many stages or layers of building

"ing as there were, so many were the machines; or, to speak
"more precisely, so many successive combinations of the same
"power in the same one machine were there employed [g]."

THIS account never having been, that I know of, attended to, or accurately translated with a view to explaining the mechanical powers which it describes, I will observe from my own translation, that this machine, formed of *short timbers*, could be no other than a combination of the mechanical power of the wedge formed into that species of framing, which the carpenter calls a centre, when applied to the interior of arch-work.

THE operation of these powers may be supposed to act in the following manner. The simple solid wedge being first applied to the parts of the stone which were first to be raised, we can suppose to have raised it in those parts to the height of the base of such wedge. A piece of mortised frame-work of the same angle and base might then be placed under it, thus raised; and the wedge be knocked out. The same wedges may then be applied between the last supposit frame and the stone, and again raise it, as before, the height of its base. A like piece of frame-work, connected and mortised to the former, might be again applied, and so alternately in succession. By these means the stone would not only be rolled over, but might be rolled up any given inclined plane, whose angle was less than the angle of the wedge.

PURSUING my ideas of this operation to further combinations of this power carried into the construction of a spiral frame, within which I would case the stone, I apply it to the subject before me as follows. I would begin my case on that side of the stone

[illegible]

towards which it was to be moved, framing it of short timbers, so as to form an acute angle, with the supposed regular periphery of the stone, and going round it in any uniform spiral line. This would easily be done, by using longer or shorter timbers, as the sides were more gibbous or more depressed. In this manner I would compleat the first tour of frame, until I came round to that side from whence the stone was to be first moved. I should then begin with driving wedges of a more obtuse angle under it, until, by raising that side, the stone began to rest on the commencement of the frame on the opposite side. I should continue thus by a repeated succession of wedges of an angle always bigger than the angle formed by the spiral frame, until I had rolled the stone over on its first tour of frame. I should then, in alternate succession of frame-work going round one way, and of wedges raising and rolling it the other, continue the same operation, until the stone was cased within a frame completed to a circular periphery of a diameter much larger than the stone itself. The stone, thus cased, and thus becoming the centre of gravity to a cylinder of much larger dimensions, might, by applying ropes to the periphery of that cylinder, be easily rolled along by such few yokes of horses or oxen, as could conveniently work at it. Ropes also, wound round the reverse way, might be applied as preventing tacles, by which means such great stones would, without danger, be checked in rolling down hill. By this simple method, analogous to what history mentions as actually used, I think it not only practicable, but very easy, to convey any mass of stone, equal to the largest we have seen at Stonehenge or Abury, over almost any ground, to any reasonable distance; and, finally, to place such in any position as may be required. The placing such stone in an erect position might be effected in the following manner. In the same manner as centre frames for the supporting of arches are made of short timbers, which

which are easily unframed by knocking out wedges that form part of them, so I would construct this external frame to be resolved in the like manner. Thus, by knocking off the frame from the end which was to be set in the ground, it would, by its own gravity, fall, and settle in an erect position. If it did not settle quite erect, the timbers and wedges which were knocked off at one end, might be applied at the other, so as to complete the erection with great ease and expedition.

THE great stones which lie across at the top of the erect ones at Stonehenge, might be easily raised to that height, being rolled, in the manner above described, up inclined planes of frame-work, exactly as Herodotus describes the great stones of the Pyramids to have been raised. This is my idea of a practical process of moving and placing these immense masses of stone. I take the hint from Herodotus, as I understand his account of the actual movement. Those whom it satisfies will be amused with it; to those who do not approve it, the suggestion may become a spur towards the attempting some better account.

them by the marriage of Baldwin the third, grandson of Bal-
win above-mentioned, with Isabella, daughter of William Rufus;
see the description of it thus: "matrimonium de Chene-
" (sic), cum relictis et relictis duobus testamentum in-
" (sic) de Newbold, Barley (now Barley), Whittington
" Magus, Topson (now Yarnon), Rothorp, et Echington, et
" totum wapentacium paxidunum [sic];" meaning the wapen-
take or hundred of Stashale.

Baldwin the fourth, who was then but a young man of
about 20 years of age, in 1142 Henry III, taking part with the

[1] Dugdale's History, i. p. 201. Dr. Theobald's
[2] Dugdale's History, i. p. 201. Dr. Theobald's

XXXX

[3] Dugdale's History, ii. p. 201.

XXXVL *A succinct and authentic Narrative of the
Battle of Chesterfield, A. D. 1266, in the Reign of
King Henry III. By Mr. Pegge.*

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, May 16, 1771.

BALDWIN WAKE the fourth, whose name is otherwise written Le Wac, was the possessor of the great manor of Chesterfield, in the 30th year of King Henry III. on A. D. 1266, when the battle, hereafter to be related, happened. This family had a large estate in the counties of Lincoln, Leicester, Northampton, Nottingham, and Hertford [a]; and their chief residence was at Brun, or Burne, in Lincolnshire, and Liddell, in Cumberland [b]. As to Chesterfield, which accrued to them by the marriage of Baldwin the third, grandfather of Baldwin above-mentioned, with Isabella, daughter of William Briwer, the description of it runs thus; "manerium de Chestrefeld, cum redditibus et servitiis duorum tenementorum suorum [c] de Newbold, Barley (now *Barlows*), Whittington Magna, Topton (now *Tapton*), Boythorp, et Ecchington, et "totum wapentachum prædictum [d];" meaning the wapentake or hundred of Scarfdale.

BALDWIN the fourth, who was then but a young man of about 26 years of age, "in 45 Henry III, taking part with the

[a] Dugdale's Baronage, I. p. 701. Dr. Thoreton, p. 256.

[b] Brook's Cat. of Honour, p. 128. Sandford's Genealogical History, p. 215, 216. Dugdale's Baronage, I. p. 539, et seq. ✓

[c] *Porte, aliorum.*

[d] Dugdale's Monasticon, II. p. 602.

“rebellious Barons, was in arms with them at Northampton, where they fortified both town and castle against the King; and, upon the storming thereof by the royal army, was there, with many more, taken prisoner [e].” It is not said how he obtained his liberty; but some time afterwards, the contest being still kept on foot, “young Simon Montfort was sent into the north, there to raise all the strength those parts could afford; whence returning, and being advanced to Kenilworth, in com. Warwick, with purpose to join with Simon, Earl of Leicester, his father, who, having raised what power he could in the west, was by that time marched up to Gloucester. This Baldwin, who had been an active person in the north against the king, and was then at Kenilworth, with those which young Simon had brought thither, was there, with most of them, taken prisoner by Prince Edward, who, by a speedy march in the night from Worcester, did so surprize them. How he made his escape afterwards I have not seen; but the farther account which I find of him, is, that he was one of those, who, after the battle of Evesham, made head again, with Robert Earl Ferrers, in Derbyshire, and was with him at the battle of Chesterfield.”

THE mention of Earl Ferrers in this passage obliges me to interweave some account of him; and the rather, as he was so materially concerned in the business which is to follow, and by which he was, in effect, almost totally ruined [f]. Robert de Ferrers, Earl Ferrers and Derby, and the last of the family that enjoyed the title of Derby, was the son of William, likewise Earl Ferrers and Derby, and had for his coat armour Variè Or and Gules. Robert was very powerful in Derbyshire and the confines, being possessed of the castle of Tutbury, and, as I think [g].

[e] Dugdale's Baronage, I. p. 540.

[f] When the King granted the rebels the privilege of redeeming their estates, A. D. 1265, the indulgence was denied to this earl, so greatly was the king exasperated against him. Math. Westm. p. 395. Dugdale's Baronage, I. p. 263. Knyghton, p. 2438. Matth. Paris, p. 1002.

[g] But of this I am not certain.

of Balfover, and the castle in the Peak, both which generally went together. Earl Robert was deep in the party of the Barons, and Prince Edward had actually wasted his lands in the counties of Stafford and Derby with fire and sword, and even demolished his castle of Tutbury. To be short, after the decisive battle of Evesham, or rather after the affair at the Isle of Axholm, he wholly submitted himself to the king's mercy, and had a large fine set upon him, and so was pardoned, upon condition, that if he should at any time transgress again, then, without hope of favour, he was to be totally disinherited, and lose his earldom. And, for the strict performance of this agreement, he obliged himself, not not only by a special charter then freely sealed to the king, but by his corporal oath at that time given. But all this notwithstanding, Earl Robert resumed his former courses, neither maying the fine, nor regarding his oath.

To begin the narrative of the battle; After the Barons were disinherited by the parliament at Northampton, in November 1265, many of them were extremely dissatisfied, and amongst the rest Robert Earl Ferrers, Baldwin Wake, &c. &c. &c. Robert was in his earldom, where his power must have its best influence, and its greatest extent; and as to Baldwin, he was here in his own lordship, and, no doubt, could raise a considerable body of vassals and tenants. The next spring after Earl Robert had given his oath as above, a large party of his friends and followers rendezvoused at Duffield-Frith [b], otherwise called the Forest of Duffield, which then appertained to him, and where he had a castle. The parties assembled were people of no great account, being represented as *Vespillones*, or a set of Banditti, intent upon plundering and ravaging the country [c]. However they were

[b] Suffeld Frith. Thomas Wikes, malè.

[c] Sociis quos ad prædandum acciverat dispersis. Nic. Trivet. p. 257. See also Wikes, p. 75. who calls them *Vespillones*, *Prædines*, & *Maleficus*. Also Matthew Paris, p. 1002. and Walsingham, p. 470. *Vispilio*, *Grassator Nocturnus*. Du Cange. It is a compound of *vespres* and *pillor*, *g. d.* night robbers.

numerous [t], and were soon joined by some malecontents of a more respectable character; Baldwin Wake, John D'Eyville [t], John Nevil [u], Henry Hastings [u], Sir George Caldwell, Sir John Clinton, Sir Roger Mandevil, Sir Richard Caldwell [o], and several others, who, without question, would be all of them properly attended. They had removed from Duffield, it seems, and taken post at Chesterfield, when the king, on his part, sent his nephew Henry, eldest son of Richard, earl of Cornwall, and king of the Romans, assisted, as Stowe says, by John Earl of Warren, and Sir Warren of Basingborne, as likewise by John de Baynal [p], against them with great strength; and the prince made such haste, that he surprized the rebels, and fell upon them in their quarters, where he killed the greatest part, took Earl Ferrers prisoner, and dispersed the rest, Wake and D'Eyville hardly escaping. Matthew Paris speaks of the *castle* of Chesterfield, on this occasion; but I believe it to be only a lax expression, there being no castle here at this time. And, according to Thomas

[t] Marth. Westm. calls it *copiosus exercitus*. And see Thomas Wikes, p. 75.

[u] This name is very variously written: *De la Haye* (Knyghton, p. 2437); *De Eyvile*, Trivet (which I take to be right, and so Thomas Wright has *Deivill*); *Deiville* (Annal. Waverley); *De Eyvile* (Dr. Thornton); *De Eyvile* (Annal. Dunstable); *Sayville* (Walt. Hemingsford, probably for *Deiville*); *Civile* (Walsingham); *Deivill* and *Deivell* (Knyghton, p. 2454; hence *Darvile*, in Stowe). See also Dugdale, l. p. 593. However, he was a gallant man, "Homo quidem callidus et bellator fortis," as Hemingsford and Knyghton both write, and was of the county of Nottingham.

[w] Dugdale's Baronage, l. p. 287. but quare, as Dugdale there makes the battle in question to be 48 Henry III. two years sooner than the truth.

[u] Stowe, p. 196.

[o] These four last named knights I have from Mr Stowe.

[p] See the quotation from the Annals of Dunstable below.

Wikes, the attack was made *coopertis vebiculis*, covered, I suppose for their defence; unless it was for concealment, *loricati coopertis vebiculis* signifying the concealed chiefs concealed in covered waggon; it is a turgid and obscure expression at best. However, it seems, many of the rebel chiefs were absent on a party of hunting, as we learn from Wikes, "*Quidem vero ex capitaneis sibi (comiti de Ferrars) coherentibus venandi gratia in silva quadam vicina conuagantes, audito quid acciderat, latebrosa nemoris densitate protecti, ut mortis discrimina declinarent, fugæ se remedio commiserunt.*" Several of the chiefs confederate with the Earl of Derby, being engaged in an hunting party in a neighbouring wood, and hearing what had happened, took the opportunity of escaping by flight, under the protection of the thickness of the covert." It was truly therefore a surprize; and Mr. Stowe suggests, that the prince actually fell in with and routed this hunting party, before he assaulted the main body at the town; these are his words, "Robert Ferrers, Earle of Darbie, Henry Hastings, Baudwyne Wakes, John Danvile, and other, with their power, being in the towne of Chesterfield, in Derbyshire, there came against them John Earle Warren, Sir Henry of Almain (the king's nephew above-mentioned), Sir Waren of Basingborn, and many other knights, who on Whitfun-even met without the town on hunting, Sir Baudwyne Wake, Sir Henry Hastings, Sir Gregorie Caldwell, Sir John Clinton, Sir Roger Mandevil, Sir Ric. Caldwell, and to the number of 22 knights all under one spear [q], all which they chased and put to flight; whereof when Sir John Danvill being in the towne had understanding, he with a small company rode out, pierced through the host, wounding many, and escaped. Earle Warren entering the towne, slew many a

[q] I suppose, having no other armour but a single spear. Under one guidon, one man's command.

"man,

“man, and took the Earle Ferrers, who was sicke of the gout,
“and had that day beene letten blood: him they sent to the Tower
“of London, from whence but lately he had been delivered [1].”

BUT quere as to this fact; for Wikes, who agrees that several
of the chiefs were out a hunting, intimates above, that on hearing
what *had passed at the town*, they went off, without having had *the*
least skirmish with the royalists. And this seems to be the truth, as
we do not find that any of these Barons or Knights were made
prisoners, which surely must have happened had they been as-
saulted, unprepared as they were, by a superior armed force.

As the onset was sudden, I apprehend there were not many of
the king's forces killed, and the main part of the rebels that fell
were slain in the town, and, as I think, near the church; for it is
noted, that the parishioners of the chapelry of Brampton, within
the rectory of Chesterfield, were wont to make part of the walls
of the church-yard at Chesterfield; and that in the time of the war
of Simon Montfort [1], they resorted to that part of the wall which
they made, and would not suffer any others to come thither.
“Solebant etiam (Bramptonienses) facere partem suam murorum
“coemeterii (de Chesterfield), et tempora guerrae Domini Si-
“monis de Monte forte se recipiebant sub parte illa quam facie-
“bant, nolentes alios permittere ibidem recipi [1].”

THIS battle became a kind of aera in these parts; for in the
MS. Register of Darley Abbey [w] we read, “Ante conflictum

[1] Stowe's History, p. 196.

[1] One of the chiefs in the Barons wars, of which this action at Chesterfield
was an appendix.

[1] Test. Lib. de Chesterfeld, &c. f. 64.

[w] Penes Ducem de Norfolk, p. 73.

"de Chesterfeld fere iii annos," and happened the 15th of May 1266 [x], on Whitsun Eve [y].

BUT something should be added on the event and consequences of it. Earl Robert, according to Stowe, was in a fit of the gout [z]; however, he at first hid himself in the church [a], under some sacks of wool [b]; but by the treachery of a woman was soon discovered, and brought prisoner to London, but was removed afterwards to Windsor; "Eodem anno, in vigilia Pentecostes apud Cestrefelde, "facta est strages magna Baronum per dominum J. de Baynal [c], "et socios suos, ubi captus est Dominus Robertus de Ferreres, "Comes Derebiae, et apud Wyntlesbore in custodia missus [d]." *The same year, on the eve of Whitsuntide, a great slaughter of the Barons was made at Chesterfielpe, by Sir J. de Baynal and his associates; when Robert Earl Ferrers was taken and imprisoned at*

[x] Sir William Dugdale, by mistake, places the battle in 48 Hen. III. or 1264. Baronage, p. I. 287. Knyghton expressly says, where he is writing of the year 1265, "Anno sequenti mense Maii quarto die ante festum Sancti Dunstani." Knyghton, inter X Scriptor. col. 2437. Now St. Dunston's day was 19 May, and the annals of Waverley expressly say the battle was 15 May.

[y] Annal. Dunstaple, cited below. Nic. Trivet, p. 227. Annal. Waverl. p. 222. Walsingham, p. 470. Wikes, p. 75.

[z] Wikes says, *fugere non poterat.*

[a] It is not said what church either by Hemingsford or Knighton; but as he was in the gout, it was probably the nearest church, so that the place he fled from was his *station*, as generalissimò. Perhaps the church of Chesterfield might be the *place of arms*, or was occupied for defence, which will account for the wool-sacks being there.

[b] Hemingsford does not mention these sacks; but Wikes says he was *ignobiliter deprehensus.*

[c] I think it strange we meet with no account of so considerable a person in any other author. One may justly suspect some mistake; ought we to read *subter* or *propter dominum J. de Daynel*? to wit, Daynel for D'Eyvil, as above.

[d] Annal. Dunstaple. p. 389. A. 1266.

Windsor,

Windsor. See also Thomas Wikes [e], who adds farther, that he was put in irons [f]. However, this business was the ruin of this powerful earl; for, in the parliament held the same year at Westminster, he was totally disinherited, and not undeservedly, on account of his manifest perfidy and perjury. And, 28 June, Edmund, the king's second son, obtained from the king his father a grant of all the goods and chartels whereof the Earl was possessed on the day of the battle of Chesterfield; and the 5th of August following, of all the castles and lands of him the said Robert, to hold during pleasure. To conclude his affairs, he was released after three years confinement, and obtained a restitution of his lands, but upon terms which he could not perform; so that he lost them at last, as likewise his earldom. His estate was esteemed 2000 l. *per annum* at that time [g].

As to Baron Wake, who was not properly in the battle, but, according to Stowe, was previously forced to fly, he joined the malecontents of the Isle of Axholm [b]; from thence went to Lincoln, where he and his party committed great outrages [i]; and at last got with Simon Montfort, and some others, to the Isle of Ely [k]; where, having held out as long as they could against Prince Edward, our Baron at length surrendered himself; and, submitting to the king's mercy, obtained pardon, as also restitution of his lands, making satisfaction unto those to whom the king had given them, according to the rate of three years annual value [l]. Whence it appears, that, upon his defection, he lost the manor of Chesterfield, along with his other lands, for a time, which was seized by the king and his party; but, upon his submission, was restored to him, and continued in his family some time.

[e] Wikes, p. 76. This is attested also by others. [f] Wikes, *ibidem*.

[g] Brookes, p. 68.

[b] *Insula de Haxaholm*. Hemingford. See Nic. Trivet, p. 227. and Knyghton, who writes it *Haxaholm*.

[i] Hemingford and Knyghton.

[k] Hemingf. p. 588.

[l] Dugdale's Baronage, I. p. 540.

BARON D'Eyville, who, I suppose, was of Nottinghamshire, forced his way through the enemy, unhorning Sir Gilbert Hanulfard [m] with his lance, and wounding several others of his opponents [n]. He was, with the malecontents, at Axholm [o] and at Ely, whence he escaped [p]; and at Kenilworth [q]; but at last made his peace, 51 Henry III. taking the benefit of the Decree called *Dictum de Kenilworth*, and redeeming his lands by a pecuniary fine [r].

HASTINGS was afterwards at Kenilworth, and even commanded there; and Clinton had the benefit of the *Dictum* [s]. Indeed it does not appear to me, at present, that any one person of note was either slain or taken prisoner in the action, except Earl Ferrers.

It seems some of the party continued in arms, even in this county, for two or three years after. There were some knights amongst them, who, having little to lose, never surrendered themselves, but lived as outlaws in the Peak, till the year 1269, or till they took the advantage of the *Dictum de Kenilworth*. The account given of them in the Annals of Dunstable runs thus; "Milites quidam, et alii plures, qui cum comite Ferreres fuerant, post imprisonmentem ipsius in partibus Pecci, se traxerunt ad forestam [t], et ibi morabantur.

[m] Hemingsford, p. 587. Sir William Dugdale, by an oversight, represents Haunfard as unhorning D'Eyville. Baronage, I. p. 593. But see Knyghton, col. 2454. who calls him Haunfard.

[n] Stowe.

[o] Hemingsford, p. 588.

[p] Nic. Trivet, p. 229. Walsingham, p. 471.

[q] Stowe.

[r] Thomas Wikes, p. 82. Dugdale's Baronage, I. p. 593.

[s] Dugdale, I. p. 530.

[t] The forest must have had much wood in it at this time to have become a hiding-place for this body of banditti.

" Isti partes illas undique devastantes, optimum equum, quem
 " custos noster de Bradeburne habuerat, abducarunt [u], qui
 " postea amici nostris effecti, nobis in omnibus pepercerunt,
 " bona aliorum religiosorum depredantes [x]." The sense of
 which is, *That certain Knights and others, who had been on the side
 of Earl Ferrers, after the imprisonment of the Earl, withdrew
 themselves to Peak forest, and took up their residence there. They
 wasted that country all round, and carried off the best horse of the
 Priory's agent at Bradeburne. But afterwards becoming friends to
 the Priory, they always favoured the Monks of that house, and only
 plundered the other Monks.*

THIS battle, as appears from the foregoing detail, was no great
 affair in itself, but proved of consequence nevertheless in the
 event, as being in fact the basis and foundation of the immense
 Dutchy of Lancaster, which is still subsisting, though involved
 and absorbed, as it were, in the crown. The estate of Robert Earl
 Ferrers and Derby, forfeited by this act, was conferred, with
 the title of Earl of Leicester and Derby, on Edmund Crouchback,
 Earl of Lancaster, second son of King Henry III; and his great
 grand-daughter Blanch, daughter and coheir of Henry, the first
 duke of Lancaster, having married John of Gaunt, duke of Lan-
 caster, and Earl of Leicester and Derby, carried Earl Ferrers's
 estate, with the castle of Tutbury, to him; and by that means
 it became a considerable part of the vast domains of John of Gaunt,
 and consequently of the present great Dutchy, the history of
 which there is no occasion in this place to deduce any lower

SAMUEL PEGGE.

Whittington, May 20, 1769.

[u] A grammatical mistake for *abduxerunt*.

[x] *Annal. Dunstap.* p. 403.

XXXVI. *Account of a Roman Pavement, with Wheat underneath it, found at Colchester. By the Rev. Dr. Griffith; communicated by Edward King, Esq; in a Letter to the Secretary.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, June 13, 1771.

Bedford Row, June 11, 1771.

S I R,

HAVING received, from the Reverend Dr. Griffith, Rector of St. Mary Hill, the inclosed account of a curious discovery lately made at Colchester, I take the liberty to trouble you with it; that, if you esteem it at all worthy the attention of the Society, you may communicate it to them. I will only just take the liberty to add, that, in pulling down the old tower of the church at Mold, in North Wales, last year, a great quantity of grain was found buried under its foundations in like manner; and that probably it was deposited in both places, in consequence of some ancient superstitious custom.

I am, Sir, with much respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

EDWARD KING.

DEAR

DEAR SIR, *St. Mary Hill, May 31, 1771.*

I TAKE the first opportunity, after my return from Colchester, to send you some particulars relating to the wheat lately found there, under a Roman pavement, in the kitchen garden of Doctor Piggot, a physician, in Angel Lane in that town.

BETWEEN two and three years ago the Doctor having observed that some of his fruit trees, which stood in one continued line, did not thrive so well as the rest, he ordered a man to dig at a little distance from the outermost of them, expecting to find a bed of gravel, or some such obstruction, that prevented the roots from striking freely into the ground. After digging to the depth of a yard and an half, there appeared a Roman pavement, consisting of rude and coarse tessellae of brick, without any material difference of colour, or any variety of figure arising from the disposition of them.

HAVING thus found what it was that checked the growth of his trees, he desisted from any further enquiry, till the beginning of this month, when he ordered a man to dig on in the same place; who, having laid the ground open to the extent of five yards and a quarter in length, and two yards and an half in breadth, came to the extremity of the stone on the east and south sides. It was every where intire, and lay in a direction parallel to the present surface of the garden, except at the south east corner, where it rose in a kind of blister, about a foot square.

As the Doctor conjectured, that the rising of the pavement might possibly be owing to a well, or some such cavity, underneath, he ordered the man to break up the pavement there, and dig into the ground under it with great caution. The ground appeared to have adhered closely to the pavement, and no cavity was seen, except a small hole, about two inches in diameter, and which extended only five or six inches, in an oblique direction,

and

and then was quite closed. The man having dug near a foot and an half deep below the pavement, quite along the south side, and about four feet four inches in width, was then ordered to stop.

AN acquaintance having informed me of some wheat being found a few days before under a Roman pavement, I went immediately to view the spot, and found a continued stratum of the wheat running in part along three sides of the lower space that had been dug. It was pure, and unmixed with any earth or rubbish, and the whole of it appeared (like that brought from Herculaneum) as black as if it had been burnt; and though a considerable part of it was in a kind of gross powder, yet the granulated form of the other part very clearly shewed what the whole had originally been.

THE distance of the stratum from the bottom of the pavement was very unequal, being from ten to sixteen inches; and its breadth was from one to six inches. The length of it on the north side was only eight inches, on the west side four feet four inches, and on the south side two feet four inches.

As the Doctor was not present himself when that part of the ground was dug up in which the wheat lay, he could not inform me how much of it had been thrown out; but I believe no great quantity, though I observed some lying amongst the earth and rubbish that had been dug up. At the time that I first examined the spot, I think there must have remained four or five quarts at least.

As a sketch (however simple) of the ground and of the stratum of wheat, &c. &c. may perhaps serve to give you a clearer idea of those particulars than a mere description, I have made an attempt at one on a separate paper.

I am, dear Sir,

Your faithful humble servant,

GUYON GRIFFITH.

FFF

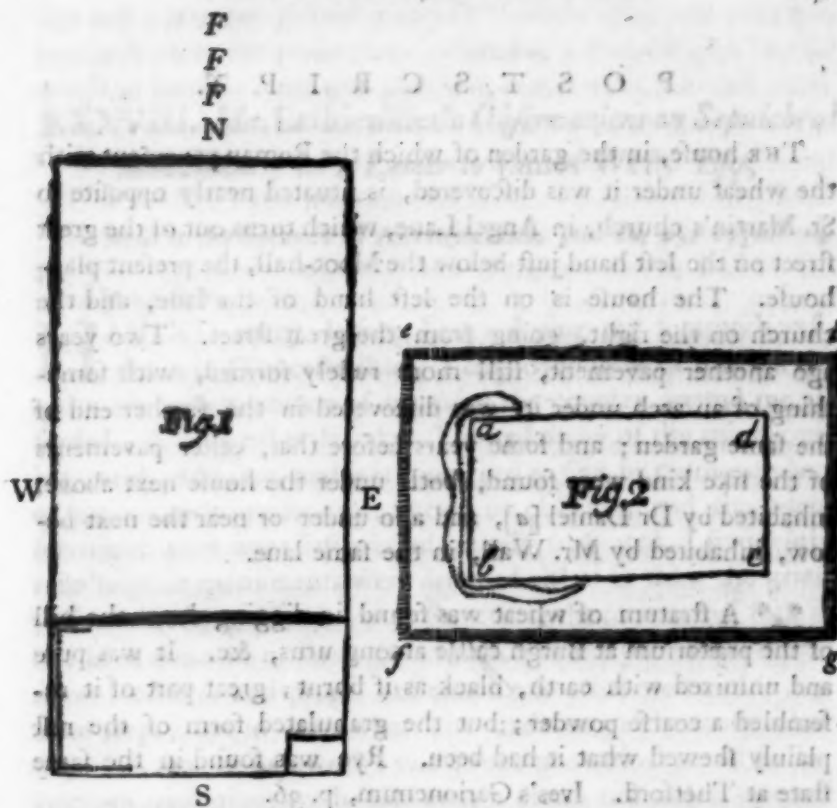


Fig. 1. Shews the whole space that was laid open; the lower part of which, as cut by the cross-line, shews the space that was dug up a foot and an half below the pavement.

THE dotted lines shew where the stratum of wheat ran along.

THE little square at the corner shews where the pavement swelled up.

FFF shews the position of the fruit-trees, whose growth seemed to be checked.

IN Fig. 2. *abcd* represents the bottom of the space that was dug up below the pavement.

THE irregular dotted figure is meant for a section of the stratum of wheat.

efgb is the bottom of the edge of the pavement immediately above the space that was dug up.

P O S T S C R I P T.

THE house, in the garden of which the Roman pavement with the wheat under it was discovered, is situated nearly opposite to St. Martin's church, in Angel Lane, which turns out of the great street on the left hand just below the Moot-hall, the present play-house. The house is on the left hand of the lane, and the church on the right, going from the great street. Two years ago another pavement, still more rudely formed, with something of an arch under it, was discovered in the further end of the same garden; and some years before that, other pavements of the like kind were found, both under the house next above, inhabited by Dr Daniel [a], and also under or near the next below, inhabited by Mr. Wall, in the same lane.

* * A stratum of wheat was found in digging down the hill of the prætorium at Burgh castle among urns, &c. It was pure and unmixed with earth, black as if burnt; great part of it resembled a coarse powder; but the granulated form of the rest plainly shewed what it had been. Rye was found in the same state at Thetford. Ives's *Garionenum*, p. 36.

[a] Of which see in Mr. Morant's *History of Colchester*, p. 183, 2d edit.

[291]

XXXVIII. *Mr. Lethicullier's Observations on Sepulchral
Monuments, in a Letter to James West, Esq;*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Jan. 16, 23, 1772.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING many leisure hours during my summer's residence in Gloucestershire, I employed some of them in enquiry after what matters of antiquity the country around me afforded. Among other searches, I visited many of the neighbouring parish churches, and was concerned to find in them numbers of ancient monuments quite buried in oblivion, and the intent for which they were first erected intirely frustrated. I frequently reflected that monuments were designed either to shew the gratitude of surviving friends, or to perpetuate the memory of such as had been eminent or serviceable to their country; ends in themselves laudable, and proper excitements to others to tread in the same steps; but in vain, where the tradition of the tomb is lost almost as soon as its owner's name becomes extinct; and no inscription remaining, we behold only a dumb and useless piece of stone or marble. Well indeed might Horace boast, *exegi monumentum aere perennius*; since it is evident his own immortal writings have already lasted beyond any monument of brass or marble which could have been erected for him.

THESE reflections led me into thinking that if, by any means, the true owners of such forgotten monuments could be revived, and the original intent of preserving their memory restored, it were at least an entertaining, not to say a meritorious labour.

THE most proper method for this I imagine to be, first, by enquiring from records who were the successive lords of the manors, or owners of capital seats and estates in the parishes where such monuments are extant; and secondly, to try if by comparing together several, whose dates are known, we can find any style, or peculiar form of design or workmanship, which prevailed in any particular age; and this (by what I have observed) may, I think, not prove a fruitless attempt. As to the first method, it must be plain to every one who will give himself the trouble to pursue it; but to none more than yourself, who are so intimately acquainted with all the ancient records and transactions of former ages in this island.

Or the latter method I shall hereafter venture to give you such hints as from observation have occurred to me.

As for the monuments in our cathedrals, or such of the abbey or conventual churches which remain, either care of the inscriptions, events in our general histories, or regular tradition, has pretty well preserved them; and the late inquisitive temper after our national antiquities has for the most part rescued such as were in danger of total oblivion. But in the rural parishes it is otherwise; and we too often find that new possessors totally neglect the memory of those who have gone before them.

In these country parish churches, we usually find the ancient monuments either in the chancel, or in small chapels or side isles, which have been built by the lords of the manors and patrons of the churches (which for the most part went together), and, being designed for burying places for their families, were frequently endowed with chantries, to pray for the souls of their founder and his descendants.

THE tracing out therefore such founders will frequently help us to the knowledge of an ancient tomb which is found placed near the
the

the altar of such chanteries. If there are more than one, they are probably for succeeding lords; and where I have found ancient ones in the church also (besides what are in such chapels or isles), I always imagine them to be in memory of lords prior to the foundation of the said buildings.

DURING the time of our Saxon ancestors I am apt to think few or no monuments of this sort erected; at least, being usually placed in the churches belonging to the greater abbeys, they felt the stroke of the general dissolution; and scarce any have fallen within my observation, or are, I believe, extant. Those we meet with for the kings of that race, such as Ina at Wells, Osric at Gloucester, Sebba and Ethelbert, which were in St. Paul's, or wherever else they occur, are undoubtedly cenotaphs, erected in later ages by the several abbeys and convents of which they were founders, in gratitude to so generous benefactors.

THE period immediately after the Conquest was not a time for people to think of such memorials for themselves or friends. Few could then tell how long the lands they enjoyed would remain their own; and most indeed were soon put into the hands of new possessors, who frequently, as we find in Domesday, &c. held thirty or forty manors at a time. All *then* above the rank of servants were soldiers; the sword alone made the gentleman; and accordingly, on a strict enquiry, we shall meet with few or no monuments of that age, except for the kings, royal family, or some few of the chief nobility and leaders; among which those for the Veres, Earls of Oxford, at Earls Colne in Essex, are some of the most ancient. And thus I imagine it continued through the troublesome reign of Stephen, and during the confusion which prevailed while the Barons wars subsisted, and until the 13th of King Edward III.

IN 13th Edward III. Magna Charta being confirmed, and every man's security better established, property became more dispersed,
manors

manors were in more divided hands, and the lords of them began to settle on their possessions in the country. In that age many parish churches were built; and it is not improbable the care of a resting place for their bodies, and monuments to preserve their memories, became more general and diffused.

THE Holy War, and vows of pilgrimage in the Holy Land, were then esteemed highly meritorious. Knights Templars were received, cherished, and enriched, throughout Europe; and they being usually buried cross-legged, in token of the banner they fought under, and compleatly armed, in regard to their being soldiers, this sort of monument grew much in fashion; and though all which we met with in that shape are vulgarly called so, yet I am certain many are not; and indeed I have rarely found any which I could be certain were for persons who had been of that Order.

THIS religious Order of laymen had its rise but in the year 1118. And, in 1134, we find Robert Duke of Normandy, son to William the Conqueror, represented in this fashion on his tomb at Gloucester. He died 1134, having been a prisoner from 1106, but a leader in the first croisade 1095. Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, was represented thus on his fine tomb, which was in St. Paul's before the fire of London. He died 5 Edward II. And in the Temple Church there still remain the cross-legged effigies of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who died 1219, William his son, who died 1231; and Gilbert, another son, who died 1241; none of whom, I take for granted, were of the order of Templars. If these monuments were designed to denote at least their having been in the Holy Land, yet all who had been there did not follow this fashion; for Edmond Crouch-back, Earl of Lancaster, second son to Henry III, had been there; and yet, as appears by his monument still in Westminster Abbey, is not represented cross-legged. However, it seems to have been a prevailing fashion till the 6th of Edward II,

anno

anno 1312; when the Order of Templars coming to destruction and into the highest contempt, their fashions of all kinds seem to have been totally abolished.

By this you see I would fix all those effigies, either of wood or stone, which we find in country churches, whether in niches in the wall, or on table tombs in compleat armour, with a shield on the left arm, and the right hand grasping the sword, cross-legged, and a lion, talbot, or some animal couchant at the feet to have been set up between the 9th of Hen. III. 1224, and the 7th of Edw. II. 1313. And what farther induces me to this opinion is, that where-ever any such figures are certainly known, either by the arms on the shield, or uninterrupted tradition, I have always found them to fall within that period; and where-ever I have met with such monuments totally forgotten, I have, on searching the owners of the church and manor, found some person or other, of especial note, who lived in that age, and left me little room to doubt but it was his memory which was intended to be preserved.

Nor to mention too many instances, I shall trouble you only with a few, which fell immediately within my observation in Gloucestershire. In Down-Amney church I found one of these figures lying on the ground, cut in a hard grey marble, and on his shield a cross charged with five escallops, the arms at this day borne by the family of Villers. On searching, I found that Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, son to Henry III. granted this manor to Nicholas de Villars, anno 1270; so that no doubt remains as to this monument.

At the east end of Cubberley church lies an effigies in the above mentioned attitude. I find that Robert de Waleran, who was high sheriff of Gloucestershire, and eminent in the time of Henry III, died seised of this manor in that reign; from whence I think it probable that this is his monument; and I can hardly imagine he was a Knight Templar, if (as is most probable) he was the same Robert de Waleran, whom John Stowe tells us Henry III. took with him,

him, when, under pretence of seeing his mother's jewels, he plundered the Templars in London of a thousand pounds. On the south side of this church there is an isle built by John de Berkeley, lord of this manor, anno 1341, who founded a chantry in it; and accordingly at the south end of it where the altar stood, there lies an effigies in a nich in the wall, not armed, or cross-legged, but in a long gown, and the hair dressed exactly as we see it on the coins of that age; from whence I presume that this is the monument of the said founder.

IN Whittington church there are two figures in table tombs, armed, cross-legged, &c. with a coat of arms on their shields; which as yet I am a stranger to. Opposite to them is the effigies of a woman, with the same coat, and another in a distinct shield over her; for empaling was not then in use. As I find this manor was held by Richard de Crupe, and Edward his son, in the reigns of Henry III, and Edward I, and by another Richard de Crupe to Edward III. and from that time was in the House of York till the reign of Henry VII; I make no question but these are the monuments of the said De Crupes, and one of their wives.

BEFORE I leave this sort of monument, I must acknowledge that I cannot affirm none were made in this form after the year 1312, having seen one in the church of Leckhampton in Gloucestershire, which by tradition is said to be for Sir John Giffard, who died seised of that manor in the third of Edward III.

AND in Hungerford church, in Berkshire, there is another such effigies, though most scandalously broken and defaced, in memory of Sir Robert de Hungerford, who died 28 Edw. III, anno 1355; but this having been set up in his life-time, as is plain from an inscription in old French, which I formerly communicated to you, there is no being certain as to its date; however, I believe, many such instances will not be met with.

To these, I think, succeeded the table tomb, with figures cumbent on it, with their hands joined in a praying posture, sometimes with a rich canopy of stone over them, sometimes without it, and again, the more plain without any figures. Round the edge of these for the most part were inscriptions on brass plates, which are now too frequently destroyed.

AT the same time came in common use the humble grave-stone laid flat with the pavement, sometimes with an inscription cut round the border of the stone, sometimes enriched with costly plates of brass, as you have, no doubt, frequently observed. But either avarice, or an over-zealous aversion to some words in the inscription, has robbed most of these stones of the brass which adorned them, and left the less room for certainty when this fashion began. Earlier than the 14th century I have seen or read of very few; and towards the beginning of that I am apt to think they were but scarce. One, I think, was produced at the Society of Antiquaries last year, dated 1300; but of this I should be glad of a farther certainty. Weever (p. 363) mentions one in St. Paul's, for Richard Newport, anno 1317; and (p. 586) gives another at Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, which he by mistake dates 1306, the true date being 1356. Upon the whole, where we have not a positive date, I should hardly guess any brass plate I met with to be older than 1350, and few so old; but from about 1380 they grew in common use, and remained so even to King James the First's time. Only after the reign of Edward the Sixth, we find the old Gothick square letter changed into the Roman round hand, and the phrase *Orate pro anima* universally omitted.

TOWARDS the latter end of the fourteenth century a custom prevailed likewise of putting the inscriptions in French, and not Latin. Of these I have seen and read many; but they are generally from 1350 to 1400, and very rarely afterwards. John Stow

has indeed preserved two, which were in St. Martin's in the Vintry, dated 1310 and 1311; but I have seen no others so early.

THE late editor of the Antiquities of Westminster affirms (from what authority I know not) that stone coffins were never or rarely used after the thirteenth century. If this be true, we have an æra from whence to go upwards in search of any of those monuments, where the stone coffin appears as it frequently does.

As Grecian architecture had a little dawning in Edward the Sixth's time, and made a farther progress in the three succeeding reigns; we find, in the great number of monuments which were then erected, the small column introduced with its base and capital, sometimes supporting an arch, sometimes an architrave; but every where mixed with them you will observe a vast deal of the Gothic ornaments retained; as small spires, ill-carved images, small square roses, and other foliage painted and gilt; which sufficiently denote the age which made them, though no inscriptions are left.

SOME knowledge in Heraldry is very necessary in searches of this nature. A Coat of Arms, Device, or Rebus, very often remains where not the least word of an inscription appears, and where indeed very probably there never was any; for I am apprehensive, that a vanity in surviving friends, who imagined a person eminent in their time could never be forgotten, induced them frequently not to put any on his monument. And it is not uncommon to find a pious ejaculation, or text of Scripture, by way of Epitaph, without the least mention of the person who lies there interred.

It may be useful likewise to remember the æras when certain customs were introduced in the manner of bearings, &c. Thus, whenever Supporters are found to a Coat of Arms, it must certainly be later than the time of King Richard the Second, that Prince being the first who used any.

WHEN there are only three Fleur de Lis in the Arms of France, and not Semée, it is later than King Henry the Fifth.

THE number of princes of the blood royal of the Houses of York and Lancaster may easily be distinguished by the labels on their Coats of Arms, which are different for each, and very often their devices are added. Till the time of Edward the Third, we find no coronets round the heads of peers. Thus William de Valence, earl of Pembroke, half brother to K. Henry III. who died *anno* 1304, and is buried in Westminster Abbey, has only a plain fillet; but John of Eltham, second son to King Edward the Second, who died *anno* 1334, and is buried in the same place, has a coronet with leaves on; and is the most ancient of this sort which is met with.

WHERE the figure of a woman is found with arms both on her kirtle and mantle, those on the kirtle are always her own family's, and those on the mantle her husband's. The first instance of a subject's quartering of arms is John Hastings, earl of Pembroke, following the example of King Edward the Third.

As to monuments for the several degrees of churchmen, as bishops, abbots, priors, monks, &c. or of religious women, they are easily to be distinguished from other persons, but equally difficult to ascertain to their true owners. Among these, as among the forementioned monuments, for the most part the stone effigies are the oldest, with the mitre, crozier, and other proper insignia; and very often wider at the head than feet, having indeed been the very cover to the stone coffins in which the body was deposited.

WHEN brass plates came in fashion, they were likewise very much used by bishops, &c. many of whose grave-stones remain at this day, very richly adorned; and in many the indented marble shews that they have been so. In Salisbury cathedral I found two very ancient stone figures of bishops, which were brought

from Old Sarum, and are consequently older than the time of Henry the Third. In that church likewise the pompous marble which lies over Nicholas Longespe, bishop of that see (and son to the earl of Salisbury), who died *anno* 1297, appears to have been richly plated, though the brass is now quite gone, and is one of the most early of that kind which I have met with. There are in Peterborough church many monuments for abbots of that convent; as likewise at Tewksbury for nine; and in Wells cathedral many, which were brought from Glastonbury; and the like in many other places; but their names are entirely forgotten; and it is now impossible to restore them to their true owners. Frequently, where there are no effigies, croziers or crosses denote an ecclesiastic. I think I have seen the latter with little difference in their make for every order from a bishop to a parish priest.

I SHALL only mention one monument more, which is somewhat peculiar; I mean the representation of a skeleton in a shroud, lying either under or on a table tomb. I have observed one of this make in almost all the cathedral and conventual churches throughout England, and scarcely ever more than one; but what age to attribute the unknown ones to, I can find no date to guess by, since there is one in York cathedral for Robert Claget, treasurer of that cathedral, as ancient as 1241; and in Bristol cathedral Paul Bush, the first bishop of that see, who died so late as 1558, is represented in the same manner; and I have observed some in every age between.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

SMART LETHIEULLIER.

XXXIX. *A View of the ancient Constitution of the English Parliament.* By Francis Maseres, Esquire of the Inner Temple.

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, April 30, May 7th, and 14th, 1772.

I.

KING WILLIAM the Conqueror reserved in his own hands, or in those of his farmers, or tenants at will, or for short terms of years, a great part of the lands of England; the same, as it is said, that was in the hands of his predecessor Edward the Confessor, for the support of his royal dignity, and the ordinary expences of government. The rest of the lands of England he granted away to his Norman and French companions in very large quantities, dispossessing, for the most part, the former English possessors of them. This he did not indeed do at first, because he claimed the crown of England by a legal, or pretendedly legal, title; namely, the appointment of Edward the Confessor, ratified by the consent of the principal great men of England, as may be seen at large in the account of his exploits, written by a cotemporary writer, *William of Poitiers*, and published in *Du Chesne's* collection of the Norman historians; and consequently he could not, consistently with this pretence, and in fact he did not, make use of his victory over Harold, as a victory over the whole English nation, that authorised him to treat them as a conquered people: but he confiscated, and granted away to his Normans, only the estates of such of the English as had assisted Harold,

Distribution
of lands by
King William
the Conqueror.

Harold, and whom he considered in the light of rebels ; leaving the rest of the English in quiet possession of their lands, upon their swearing allegiance to him. Those however who had adhered to Harold, and whose estates were confiscated upon that ground, were very many ; and by that means the Normans became immediately possessed of very great estates in England. Afterwards the English made several insurrections against King William in different years of his reign ; particularly one great one in his fourth year, in which they were headed by Frederick, Abbot of St. Alban's, and which was so general and powerful that King William, by the advice of Lanfrank, the good Archbishop of Canterbury, renewed his coronation-oath to the people, and promised to govern them according to their ancient laws and liberties, as they had enjoyed them under King Edward ; and thus, by these gentle means, persuaded them to disperse. Other insurrections he subdued by force ; and, in the end, he came to have so strong a suspicion of the fidelity of the English to his government, that he took occasion from those insurrections to dispossess them, almost all, of their lands, and give them to his Normans ; insomuch that, towards the latter end of his reign, there were extremely few English in the nation, that held lands under him, or at least that held any land immediately of him, which was the most powerful and most honourable kind of tenure. He even went further, as the contemporary historians, and particularly *Ingulphus*, assures us ; and would not suffer any Englishman whatsoever, though his merit and character were ever so great, to rise to any considerable employment either in church or state.

II.

THE lands which he thus granted away to his Norman companions, and which he permitted perhaps some few of the English to continue in the possession of, he brought under the feudal law; that is, under the form of it, which at that time prevailed in Normandy, the principal articles of which were these. The landholders held their lands of the king by homage and fealty, and certain military services, that is, by doing homage to the king, and therein declaring that they became his *homines*, or men to assist him and serve him in all things relating to his worldly honour and glory, and by swearing fealty or fidelity to him, and by putting themselves under an obligation of attending and assisting him with a certain number of knights, or horsemen, armed with complete armour cap-a-pie, for a certain number of days, in all his wars: And they held these lands for them and their heirs for ever, that is, probably, to their children and descendants, but not as yet to their collateral relations. Upon failure of heirs (or children) the lands were to fall back (*échoir*) to the king, which was called *Escheating*; as they were likewise upon the commission of treason against the king, and of murder or wilful homicide, and certain other atrocious crimes, called felonies.

Establishment of Military Tenures.

III.

UPON the death of the land-holder, the land descended to the eldest son only, in order that he might be able to supply his father's place both in peace and war; that is, might be enabled to live in time of peace in the same degree of power and splendor, as his father had done; and, in time of war, might attend the king with the same number of knights or horsemen, which was easier and better for the king's service, than to be forced to require those services

Law of Inheritance by Primo-geniture.

services in small parcels, from a great number of small land-holders obliged to perform them; which would have been the effect of an equal division of the lands amongst all the children. But if there were no sons, the lands descended to the daughters equally; which was certainly a very injudicious relaxation of the feudal principles, and had a great effect in weakening, and at length altering, the system of government built upon them, as shall presently be shewn; which, without this source of weakness and decay, seems to be the most perfect and durable of all systems of monarchical government, and the best fitted to preserve the liberties of the people against the incroachments and power of the king.

IV.

Relief and
Wardship.

If the land-holder left a son of full age, that is, one-and-twenty years old, by which time his education for a military life was supposed to be compleated, the son entered immediately into the possession of his father's estate, paying only to the king some horses and suits of armour, under the notion of a *relief*, or fine for renewing, or taking up again (from the French word *relever*) the grant that had been made of it to his father. These reliefs may be seen in the collection of the Conqueror's laws, published by Dr. Gale, in his edition of *Inguipbus's* Memoirs of *Crowland Abbey*, which is the only authentic collection of those laws. If the land-holder died whilst his eldest son was under the age of twenty-one, the king was to have the care and education of the son till he attained that age, and was to take the lands into his own hands during that interval, and enjoy the profits of them to his own use, expending only upon the heir so much as was necessary to give him a proper military education, suitable to his rank and the tenure of his lands; and when the heir came to the

age of twenty-one, the king was to give up the lands to him without the payment of relief. This power came afterwards to be much abused, and was therefore taken away by the Statute of 12 Car. II.

V.

If the land-holder left only daughters, the king had the like profits of relief and wardship; and had also, if they were under the age of 14, the right of disposing of them in marriage. This power was said to be vested in the king in order to prevent the heiresses that were his tenants from marrying persons that were of doubtful affection to him, or that were incapable and unfit to do the services belonging to the land. He had also a power of disposing of his male wards in marriage, though without such good reasons for it. But this power of disposing of wards of either sex in marriage, as well as the rights of wardship, was afterwards very much abused, and was therefore taken away by the aforesaid statute of 12 Car. II, together with the tenure itself by military, or (as it was usually called) knight's service.

Marriage of
heirs, both
male and fe-
male.

VI.

THESE land-holders thus holding immediately of the king, and whom we may therefore call the first class of land holders in the kingdom, are the persons called in the old histories and law-books *tenants in chief*, or *tenants in chief of the king*, *barons of the king*, *barons of the kingdom*, *great men*, or *les grantz*, or *grands*, *magnates*, *primates*, *optimates*, *primores*, *proceres*, and *principes terrae*; and constituted the ancient parliament or legislative body of this kingdom, from the time of the Conqueror to the latter part of the reign of Henry III, which at that time was called *the great council*,

Barons, or
king's barons,
and the great
council of the
kingdom.

and *the king's court*; the word *parliament* not coming into use till towards the latter part of Henry the Third's reign; and then at first, rather signifying the conference the king held with his barons, than the assembly, or collective body of the barons themselves.

VII.

Freeholders
of inferior
classes.

THESE land-holders of the first class, or barons, had a power of making subinfeudations of their land, or of granting away any parts of it to other tenants, to hold to them and their heirs, or children, of them the grantors, but not to hold of the king; for to this latter more absolute species of alienation the king's consent was necessary; otherwise any of the barons might have made an ill-affected, or otherwise unfit, person become a tenant to the king. And this secondary class of land-holders might in like manner grant away part of the lands, so granted to them, to other persons, to hold to them and their heirs of the grantors and their heirs, and they in like manner to other subordinate tenants, without limit; whereby a third and fourth class of freeholders, and other inferior classes, would be erected. These land-holders of the third, and other inferior classes, sometimes held their lands of their respective lords by military services; in which case they were, as I conceive, called *Vavafors*: and sometimes by paying a certain rent instead of all services, or by doing certain services relating to husbandry, in which cases they were said to hold by socage tenure. The *Vavafors* are mentioned in the laws of William the Conqueror, collected by Ingulphus, as being persons who held lands by military tenure, of other persons than the king.

VIII.

Tenants in
capite, by So-
cage-tenure.

SOME few persons also held immediately of the king by socage tenure, and not by military services; but these I take to be very few.

few. Those who did hold in this manner were not, properly speaking, barons, but only tenants in capite, as I collect from a record published in Madox's *Baronia Anglica*; but they, probably, were nevertheless members of the great council, or parliament.

IX.

THE bishops, and abbots, and priors, that held lands of the king, were compelled by king William to hold them by military services, which they were to perform by sending the king a proper number of knights or horsemen, to attend him in his wars. This they thought a hardship, as they had hitherto held their lands free from all manner of service; but the king insisted upon it, and they were forced to submit, and held them so ever after. It is probable that this tenure by military service was introduced by the Conqueror, with respect also to the lands held by his lay-tenants; there being few or no traces of such a tenure amongst the Saxons. And this is the opinion of that great antiquary Sir *Henry Spelman*. But whether the lands of England might not be subject to some easy kind of feudal tenure, such as a tenure by fealty and certain country services, or by fealty and certain rent, or by fealty only, so that every piece of land should be held either of the king, or some other lord, to whom it should in some cases escheat, in the times before the Conquest, seems to be doubtful; and I think it seems rather the more probable opinion, that in this degree the feudal system did even then subsist.

Military services were imposed upon the lands of the clergy.

X.

Three regular meetings of the great council in a year, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

DURING the reigns of the three first Norman kings it is evident from the cotemporary writers, and particularly from *Ingulphus* and *Eadmerus*, that the great council of the nation, or the assembly of barons or land-holders of the first class, met at least three times in a year; that is, at the three great feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide; and this of course, or of common right; so as to be called by the historians, when assembled at this time, *Curia de more*, or *Curia regis de more co-adunata*; and for this meeting on these occasions no summons was needful or usual. But if the king wanted to consult them at any other time, he used to send them a particular summons to meet him at a particular time and place: and these councils thus meeting by virtue of a summons, are called by *Eadmerus*, *Conventus principum ex praecepto regis*, or *Conventus procerum ex edicto regio*; to distinguish them from the former regular meetings at the three feasts. In both these kinds of meetings they did the same sort of business, namely, the public business of the nation; they determined upon war or peace, granted the aids to the king, made laws, and tried great causes between baron and baron, as appears from *Eadmerus*.

It follows therefore that those persons are greatly mistaken, who look upon a parliament as only an incidental or occasional part of our constitution, to be used as an extraordinary remedy on extraordinary occasions, and not as a permanent part of it; since it anciently met three times a year of course without the king's summons, and in some years many times besides, in consequence of the king's writ.

THE

XI.

THE barons and other tenants in chief of the king in the time of the Conqueror are all enumerated in Domesday-book, and are in number about 700 persons. These persons possessed all the lands of England, excepting that part which the king reserved in his own hands, and which is in Domesday-book called *Terra Regis*, and has since been called in the law-books *the ancient demesne* of the crown of England.

Number of the tenants *in capite* of the land of England in the latter part of the Conqueror's reign.

XII.

THESE tenants in chief, as well those few who held in socage, as those who held by military services, composed the great council, or parliament of those times. They had a right, and it was their duty, to come there of course and without a summons at the three great festivals above-mentioned; and at the other meetings they, and they only, had a right to be summoned to them. The king never thought of summoning any person that was not a tenant in chief to those councils, or of conferring upon any one by his letters patent of creation (as is the practice at present) a right to sit there: nor on the other hand was he at liberty to omit summoning any of these tenants in chief to these great councils, they having all an equal right to sit there. Such a power might have had the most terrible consequences; since the king might by calling together only such of the tenants *in capite* as were most devoted to his interest, have given the sanction of a law to the most exorbitant and pernicious measures. King Henry III. once attempted to make use of such a power, as we are told by *Matthew Paris*; and the consequence was, that the barons who met broke up in anger, and declared themselves to be an incompetent assembly to proceed on public business, because

The tenants *in capite* were the only members of the great council of the kingdom.

cause some of their brother barons had not been summoned. This was, if I mistake not, about the thirty-seventh year of Henry the Third's reign.

XIII.

No members
sat there by
virtue of any
election of
the people.

As there were no Lords of the king's creation, either by patent or writ, in these days, but every tenant *in capite* had, from that single circumstance, a right to sit in the great council, and no other person whatsoever could be authorised by the king to sit there; so, on the other hand, there were at this time no representatives, either of the counties, cities, or boroughs, of England elected by the people. The landed interest of the kingdom was sufficiently represented and protected in the great council of the nation by admitting into it (not a few persons deputed by the rest, but) all the tenants *in capite* or land-holders of the first class. The land-holders of the second, and third, and other inferior classes, being all tenants or vassals, of this upper class of land-holders, though by free and honourable tenures, similar to those by which their lords themselves held of the king, were bound by the decisions and laws of their upper lords. And as to the cities and boroughs, or the trading interest of the nation, they were in these early times too inconsiderable to deserve to be particularly represented in the great council of the nation.

XIV.

Of the other
orders of men
in the king-
dom, besides
the freehold-
ers of land;
and particu-
larly of te-
nants at will.

BESIDES the tenants *in capite* of the king, and the other inferior classes of land-holders by free tenures, whether of military or other service (all which land-holders are usually described in old books by the name of *liberi homines*), there were two (or perhaps more) other orders of men in the kingdom, that were each of them probably much more numerous than the whole body of free-

free-holders of all the several classes put together. The first of these consisted of men who were free in their persons, but who held lands, in small parcels, of some of the free-holders, by rustic and low services (such as ploughing so much of their landlord's ground, carrying dung upon it, cleansing his ditches, and the like), *at the will of the lord*; by which last circumstance they are distinguished from those who held land by free and common socage, which, though it often required the performance of these rustic services, was a certain and permanent holding. These tenants at will are the predecessors of those we now call *copy-holders* and other customary tenants at will, to whom the law, ever favourable to liberty, has now given a more lasting interest in their lands by virtue of the words *according to the custom of the manor*, which immediately follow the words *at the will of the Lord* in the instruments by which their lands are granted to them, and which have been by courts of justice held to controul and restrain those words, to mean only such an exertion of the lord's will, as is agreeable to the custom of the manor. These tenants at will I take to have been extremely numerous.

XV.

To these tenants we may add also tenants for a year, or for a short term of years, and even tenants for life with a reversion to their lords (though these tenants for life are in the law-books deemed to be free-holders) and tenants for long terms of years, determinable upon one or more lives, as being all of them persons of an inferior rank (though free in their persons,) and having a less permanent kind of property in the lands they occupied, than the hereditary free-holders either by knight's service, or socage tenure.

Tenants for
life and for
terms of
years.

XVI. LASTLY

XVI.

Slaves, or
villains.

LASTLY there was in these times a very numerous class of men that were absolutely slaves. These were the *Villains*. They were bound to work for their lords, or masters, at their masters pleasure, and were incapable of acquiring, either by labour, inheritance, or gift, any property whatsoever either in lands or goods, but for their masters benefit; so that their masters might seize their money, their goods, or their lands, whenever they pleased. Their masters were only restrained from killing them, from maiming them, and from ravishing the female slaves, who were not called *Villains*, but *Niefs* or *Nieves*, from the word *nativa*, importing that they were born on their master's land, and in a state of bondage to him. But against all other persons these slaves were capable of property; and if they brought actions to recover it, nobody but their masters could reply to them, that they were slaves, and ought not to be answered. And though their masters might, according to the rigour of the law, seize all their property, yet they did not usually behave with this severity towards them, but often left them in the quiet possession of even some landed property.

XVII.

Two sorts of
villains; vil-
lains regard-
ant to ma-
nors, and vil-
lains in gross.

THESE villains, or slaves, were of two sorts, whereof the first were called *villains regardant*, that is, villains respecting, or belonging to some particular manor, on which they were to perform their services to their lords, and from which he had no power to remove them; and the latter were called *villains in gross*, being their masters slaves at large, and bound to serve him wherever he thought fit to employ them. These latter villains seem to have been in a more compleat and severe state of slavery than the villains regardant, but must have been very few in number, as they are seldom

seldom spoken of in old books. But the villains regardant were very numerous, there being in these old times scarce a manor in England without some of them upon it.

XVIII.

THE origin of this custom of having slaves, or villains, is not very easy to discover. It is certain that there were numbers of people in this condition before the Conquest. A remarkable instance of this may be seen in *Ingulphus*, who has preserved a charter of the time of Edward the Confessor, in which one *Thorold*, a rich and powerful gentleman of Lincolnshire, gives the manor of Spalding with all its appurtenances to the monastery of Crowland. He there, after giving the manor, with the lands, tenements, rents, woods, &c. thereunto belonging, gives away the inhabitants of the manor by their names, with all their families, or *cum totâ sequelâ suâ*, and all their possessions, to the number of thirteen families. This charter was made in the year 1051, that is, fifteen years before the arrival of the Conqueror: it is very curious, and well worth reading.

Conjectures concerning the origin of villenage.

BUT when and how this custom of slavery was introduced is a question of much difficulty. One cause of it (for there may have been many) I conjecture to have been the allowance of sanctuaries, or places of refuge, to persons who had been guilty of capital crimes: for these persons became slaves to the lords of the places that were endowed with this privilege. At least this was sometimes the case, as is evident from a charter of one of the Saxon kings to Crowland-abbey; in which this privilege of sanctuary is granted to the abbey, and it is expressly declared that the criminals who take refuge there shall become the slaves of the Abbot. See the charter of *Witlaff* king of Mercia, in the year 833, in *Gale's Ingulphus*, pag. 8.

ANOTHER cause of villenage is conjectured by some writers to be the subjection and total conquest of the Britons by the Saxons on their first settling in Britain, at which time it is supposed they made those of the native Britons, that escaped the sword, and did not fly to Wales, their slaves. But I do not recollect any proof or authority for this conjecture.

BUT perhaps it is needless to seek for any particular causes of this custom, since it is well-known that it subsisted amongst the Germans, or Saxons themselves, in their own country, as Tacitus positively assures us. Why therefore may we not suppose that the Saxon armies, that invaded and conquered this country, brought over with them from Germany the slaves that had there belonged to them? But to return to the state of England at the Conquest.

XIX.

Freemen who
had no land.

THERE were besides the several orders of men already mentioned, that is, besides the free tenants of various classes by free and hereditary tenures, whether military or socage, and the tenants for life, the tenants at will, tenants for short terms of years, and tenants for long terms of years determinable upon lives, who were free in their persons, and the villains whether in gross or regardant, a great number of men, who were free in their persons, and got their livelihood as day labourers or journeymen, either in country work, or the few trades that were then carried on in towns, such as the trades of smiths, and carpenters, bakers, taylors, and clothiers. These men, who were free in their persons, are expressed to be so in Domesday-book by those words, *sed ire poterant quo volebant*, to distinguish them from the villains regardant, who were bound to continue upon the manors to which they belonged.

XX. THERE

XX.

THERE were also the king's tenants of his crown-lands, or ancient demefne, who were a fort of tenants at will of the king, and not confidered as free-holders, but were allowed greater privileges than the like tenants to any other lord, on account of the greater dignity of their lord, and in order to enable them the better to cultivate the king's lands for him, or pay him the rents he referved upon them. Thefe husbandmen that tilled the king's lands are called by Bracton and other old writers *Socmanni regii*; and were fome of them free in their perfons, though their tenures were bafe or at will; and others of them (and thefe, I imagine, were the greater number) were the king's villains regardant to his feveral manors.

The king's tenants of his crown-lands, or antient demefne.

XXI.

THE greater part of the inhabitants of the boroughs, or walled towns (for that was at this time the meaning of the word *borough*), were villains, either in grofs, or regardant to the manor in which the town stood, and belonged to fome lord, as well as the inhabitants of the open villages. The former held houfes called *burgage*, at the will of their lords or mafters, and carried on fome trade by his permission, fuch as that of a carpenter, fmith, baker, butcher, taylor, or clothier, and gave him fuch part of the profits of their trade as he pleased to require of them, or paid him fuch rents for his licence to exercife their trades, as he thought proper: and the latter occupied little houfes in the villages alfo at the will of their lords or mafters, and ufually alfo little farms, for which they paid him fuch rents as he pleased to require of them, and moreover did their proper fervices on the other parts of their mafters lands. There were, however, fome perfons both in the boroughs and open villages who were free in

Of boroughs, and the inhabitants of them.

their persons; but these also, for the most part, held their houses or burgages, and little farms, at the will of the lord. This appears evidently from Domesday-book to have been the state of the boroughs and villages of England at this time.

XXII.

Of tolls in
boroughs.

THIS being the state of things at this time, it follows of course, that the lord, or owner of the soil of a borough, might impose what tolls he pleased upon the inhabitants of it; since the greater part of them were usually his actual slaves, whose whole property he had by law a right to seize, and the other part, though free in their persons, were his tenants at will, and might therefore be turned out of their houses, and consequently lose the means of carrying on their trades in that borough, at a minute's warning. And these tolls he might vary and increase at his pleasure, as the trade and riches of the inhabitants increased. Of these tolls we meet with a great variety in old books, as pontage, passage, lastage, stallage, and many more. Few or none of the inhabitants of a borough had, as I conjecture, at this time the freehold of the houses they lived in.

XXIII.

Of tillages.

IT was usual also in those times for the lords of boroughs on some occasions to tax, or *tallage*, as it was called, the burghesses of their boroughs, and this at their own pleasure, with respect to the quantity of the tallage, if not to the occasions of imposing it. This must evidently have been lawful with respect to those burghesses who were actually the villains of their lord, and must have been enforced, I presume, upon the other burghesses by the fear of being turned out of their houses, which they held at will.

AND as the lords tallaged their boroughs, so the king tallaged those boroughs that belonged to him, or that were held of him, by
the

the like precarious tenures, by his villains, and other tenants in antient demesne.

XXIV.

BUT as to the freeholders of the nation, they never were taxed but by the free consent of the great council of the nation, consisting of the freeholders of the first class, or tenants *in capite*. The taxes so imposed were usually a certain proportion of the moveable goods of each person, as a tenth, fifteenth, or twentieth; and they were not called tallages, but *aids* or *subsidies*; *auxilia*, vel *subsidia*; and were said to be *regi concessa a totâ communitate regni Angliæ*; that is, granted to the king by the whole body of the freeholders of the kingdom, represented, as they always were, by the first class of them. Dr. Brady says, and gives good reasons for his assertions, that, when the great council of the nation granted the king an aid, the king had a right to tallage his tenants in antient demesne, and the lords to tallage their burgesses and other tenants at will, or by base tenure; but not to tallage the inferior class of freeholders, who paid like the tenants *in capite*, or lords, themselves, only the sums assessed by the grant of the great council; but that neither the king, nor the lords, might tallage their base tenants upon any other occasion. If this was so, it was a very considerable security for those inferior tenants against the oppressions both of the king and lords.

Of aids, or subsidies, paid by the freeholders of land.

XXV.

WHILE the inhabitants of boroughs continued in this low and precarious state, it is no wonder they did not send representatives to parliament: it was not reasonable that they should. But in process of time they emerged from this low condition, and became very rich and considerable, and then had a reasonable claim to be represented

Of the gradual increase of boroughs.

sented there. And this change in their condition, together with the decay of many of the tenants *in capite* by the subdivision of their estates, by means of the inheritance of females, were the principal causes of the great change in the constitution of the parliament, or great council of the nation, that took place in the reign of Edward I. The progress of this increase of wealth and dignity in the boroughs seems to have been as follows.

XXVI.

Of the manner and causes of this increase; and of the enfranchisement of boroughs, or the conversion of common boroughs into free boroughs.

IT has been already observed, that the villains, though very much subject by the law to the power of their masters, yet were not in fact treated by them with much rigour. Their masters might indeed seize their lands and goods to their own use, but they seldom did so. On the contrary they permitted them to enjoy their property in quiet, provided they performed the services, and paid the rents they required of them, and now and then paid them extraordinary sums of money to defray extraordinary expences; such as, for example, to assist them in portioning a daughter, or perhaps a younger son, knighting the eldest son, ransoming their master when taken prisoner, or any of his children on the like occasion, paying any great and sudden debt that might trouble him, contributing to rebuild his house, if destroyed by fire, or any other accident. And it frequently happened, that the masters made their villains free, sometimes as a reward for long and faithful services, sometimes on occasion of great festivities and joyful events in their families, as weddings and the like, and sometimes in consideration of a sum of money paid by the villain for his freedom; it being unusual, as I said before, for the masters to make use of their right of seizing their villains property at pleasure. By manumissions made from those and other motives, I conceive that the inhabitants of many

many of the boroughs, or walled towns, became almost all of them free in their persons, but still remained tenants of the burghages, or houses they lived in, at the will of the lord, and consequently still liable to have their rents and their tolls raised upon them by their lords, as they increased in trade and wealth, upon pain of being turned out of their houses. They therefore were desirous of obtaining a second privilege, in order to their perfect security in the enjoyment of the profits of their industry; and this was, to be incorporated into one body by the king's charter and their lord's consent, so that the whole collective body of them should form, as it were, but one tenant to the lord, and to pay in this collective capacity a certain fixed and perpetual rent to the lord of the borough, or to the king, if he was the lord (as he was of all the land called *antient demesne*) and his heirs for ever, in lieu of the several particular rents and tolls they paid before, and which the lord might increase at his pleasure. This fixed and perpetual rent was called a *fee-farm rent*, because it was a *farm*, or rent, paid for the liberty of trading in the lord's borough, and because it was a *perpetual* rent to be paid by them, and their successors in the borough, to the lord and his heirs for ever, and therefore resembled the tenure of estates of inheritance, or in fee, by socage-tenure or the payment of a certain rent. A borough that had obtained this privilege was said to be enfranchised, or made free, and was called a *free borough*, or *liber burgus*. The fee-farm rent so paid was probably at first an adequate compensation to the lord for the sum total of the private rents and tolls, which he has before intitled to at the time of the enfranchisement: but as it could not be increased, it in process of time came to be a mere trifle, by the vast subsequent decrease in the value of money. The burgesses of boroughs thus enfranchised were very nearly upon the same footing of liberty and independence as the free socage-tenants: they were free in
their

their persons as well as they, and they contributed only their proportion of a fixed and certain rent paid by their whole collective body to their lord for the liberty of trading; as the socage-tenants paid a fixed and certain rent, or services, to their lord for the lands they enjoyed. Neither of them now held at the will of the lord; and the principal remaining difference between them seems to have been, that the burgesſes held their lands not to themselves and their heirs, or children, but to themselves collectively and their ſucceſſors.

MOST of the enfranchiſements of boroughs happened in the reigns of *Henry II.*, *Richard I.*, *King John*, and *Henry III.*; few of them in the times of the firſt four Norman kings.

XXVII.

Of the Lords
power of im-
poſing tal-
lages on the
burgeſſes of
their free
boroughs.

AFTER the enfranchiſements, the lords ſtill continued to have a right, as I conceive, to tallage their boroughs, though not to impoſe tolls or rents upon them: and it was then, that is, after theſe enfranchiſements, that this power of tallaging them was ſubject to the reſtraint mentioned by *Dr. Brady*, namely, that theſe tallages could only be impoſed by them when a ſubſidy, or aid, was impoſed upon all the freeholders of the nation by a great council conſiſting of the firſt claſs of them. On theſe occaſions only the lords might tallage their free boroughs, and the king his free boroughs, or boroughs in antient demefne, ſo enfranchiſed as has been above deſcribed; and on theſe occaſions they might aſſeſs the tallage at what ſum they thought proper. Theſe tallages were always a heavier tax than the ſubſidy granted for the freeholders, and uſually, I conjecture, in the proportion of three or two, ſo that where the freeholders were to pay a fifteenth part of their moveable goods, the burgeſſes were to pay a tenth, or thereabouts. This I conjecture to have been ſo, becauſe in the latter parliaments of *Edward I.*, ſuch as that great one of the thirty-fourth year of his reign,

reign, when the free boroughs were admitted to send representatives to parliament.

WE find, in the first place, that the burgesses and tenants in antient demesne voted and taxed themselves separately from the knights of counties, and that the knights then sat and voted with the Lords, and joined with them in taxing themselves and their constituents, or the freeholders of the kingdom; and, secondly, that the burgesses and tenants in antient demesne on those occasions granted the king an aid, for themselves and their constituents, that was greater than that granted by the lords and the knights of shires for themselves and their constituents, that is, for the freeholders of the kingdom, in that proportion. And, if, when they taxed themselves in parliament, the burgesses and tenants in antient demesne laid a greater tax on themselves and their constituents than was laid at the same times upon the freeholders of the kingdom, I conclude, *à fortiori*, that, before they were admitted to the privilege of taxing themselves, and while they were tallaged at the discretion of their lords, the tallages so raised upon them by their lords must have been greater than the subsidies granted by the freeholders of the kingdom in at least as great a proportion."

XXVIII.

THE free boroughs were admitted to send representatives to parliament in the 23d year of King Edward I.

XXIX.

WHETHER before this time, and whilst the boroughs were liable to be tallaged at the discretion of their lords, the restraint upon the power of the lords, above-mentioned from Dr. Brady, took place with respect to common boroughs not enfranchised, as well as with respect to the free boroughs, I somewhat doubt.

IT seems rather probable, that the common boroughs might continue subject to be tallaged by their lords whenever they

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pleased,

The free boroughs were at last permitted to send representatives to parliament.

Of the power of the lords of common boroughs to tallage the inhabitants of them before 23 Ed. I.

pleased, as well as when the great council granted the king a subsidy; for if they would not comply with the demand of such a tallage, they must have been liable to be turned out of their houses. But severities of this kind were not likely to be often practised by the lord, because they would have tended to destroy the industry and trade of their burghesses, and drive them from the borough. But of this point *melius inquirendum*.

XXX.

Of ecclesiastical synods. They consisted only of bishops and abbots, without any proctors chosen by the parochial clergy.

THE bishops and abbots made a part of the great council, being for the most part tenants *in capite*. Those abbots who were not tenants *in capite* had no right to sit there, and in fact did not sit there on ordinary and temporal occasions. But when any ecclesiastical business was to be transacted, the king summoned all the bishops, and all the heads of religious houses, priors as well as abbots, and those who did not hold lands of him, as well as those who did, to transact it. The bishops as heads of the secular clergy, and the abbots and other heads of religious houses, as chiefs of the regular clergy, or religious, were deemed to be sufficient to make laws for, and govern and regulate, the whole body of the clergy, both secular and regular; and of those, and those only, the ancient Synod both of England and Normandy consisted. No proctors were sent from the parochial clergy till the latter part of the reign of Edward I. We have several examples of these ancient Synods both in *Ingulphus* and *Eadmerus*. Sometimes the king caused the temporal nobility to assist at these Synods for settling ecclesiastical matters, in order to give the sanction of temporal punishments to the laws therein ordained; which, without the assistance of the temporal nobility, could only have been enforced by ecclesiastical censures, such as excommunication and the like. An instance of the union of the two estates of the kingdom, the clergy and the laity, for such a purpose, we have in the Synod of London, held in the reign

reign of Henry I. while Anselm was archbishop of Canterbury, as may be seen at large in *Eadmerus*, page 67.

XXXI.

THE Synods therefore of these times consisted of the bishops and the heads of the religious houses; and the parliaments or great councils of the nation consisted of all the king's tenants *in capite*, including such of the heads of religious houses, abbots, or priors, as were so. These tenants *in capite* are enumerated in *Domesday book*, and the list of them is from thence transcribed and published in Dr. Brady's Introduction to his History of England. They were in number about seven hundred persons; and therefore if the lands of England, exclusive of Wales, and of the king's ancient demesne lands, be estimated at 14,000,000 acres, and had been equally divided amongst them, they would have had about 20,000 acres apiece; that is, in the style of those times, each barony would have contained about 20,000 acres. But in fact they were not divided equally among them, but in very unequal quantities, some of the great baronies consisting of an hundred or two hundred thousand acres, and others of only five or six thousand, or fewer acres. Several examples of the magnitudes of these ancient baronies I have annexed to this paper, collected from the notes of the learned Mr. *Madox's Baronia Anglica*, which are extracted from the Records of the Exchequer, in which the several reliefs, services, and quit-rents, due to the king upon them, were set down.

Of the extent of the baronies of the several tenants *in capite* in the kingdom upon an average; and of their great inequality.

XXXII.

FROM these instances it appears how prodigiously many of these baronies came to be diminished and subdivided; and that principally by the repeated partitions among female heirs. We meet with instances of the 100th and 300th part of a barony.

Of the great subdivision of baronies by repeated partitions among female heirs.

Yet the husband of the coheirefs of a barony, holding a part of a barony, and that often a very small one, in right of his wife, had a right to a feat in parliament in consequence thereof; as is evident from the old books and records, beyond dispute. This multiplied the members of the great council to a very inconvenient number; and it was likewise too expensive and burdensome to some of these poorer barons, who held by these small parts of baronies, to attend there. Hence arose the distinction between *barones majores* and *barones minores*, a distinction unknown in the reigns of the Conqueror and his two sons. Those barons who still continued to possess whole baronies were called *barones majores*, and those who held only parts of baronies, especially small parts, were called *barones minores*. But all had a right to come to parliament; and the only difference made between them in King John's *magna carta* is, that the king is bound thereby to send a particular summons to each of the *barones majores* to attend the parliament, and only to cause the *barones minores* to be summoned in general by the sheriff; that is, I suppose, by a proclamation in the king's name, made by the sheriff at a county court.

XXXIII.

Of the battle of Evesham, and its consequences on the constitution of the parliament.

SUCH was the constitution of the parliament till the victory gained by King Henry III, or rather by his son Prince Edward, over the confederate barons at *Evesham*; a victory fatal to the power of the barons, and the purity of the feudal government, that had subsisted from the time of the Conquest. After this victory, King Henry III. took the liberty of selecting such barons as he pleased to call to his parliaments, and omitted to send writs to the rest; but yet did not presume to create a lord, or summon to parliament any person that was not a real baron, or tenant *in capite*. He exercised this privilege of omitting some of them upon a plau-

a plausible pretence, that those who had been so lately in arms against him, or had favoured those who were, were not fit to be trusted with a share in the public counsels of the nation, lest they should again throw things into confusion. His son *Edward I.* continued to exercise the same power of omitting to summon some of the barons; so that at last it grew to be the general opinion, or law, upon this subject, that the king's writ of summons made a baron, or gave a man a right to sit as such in parliament, and not the holding of lands *in capite* of the king. Yet still he did not create any lords by patent (which was not done till the worst part of the bad reign of *Richard II.*; and then too in parliament till *Henry the Seventh's* time), nor summon by writ any other than tenants *in capite*. And in the 23d year of his reign, instead of summoning all the lesser barons to parliament, according to the directions of *King John's Charter*, he required them to send two of their number in every county to represent them; which was the origin of the knights of shires. These persons at first sat and voted with the other barons, and joined with them, as has been already observed, in taxing themselves and all the other freeholders of the nation. And this change of the constitution was probably agreeable to the lesser barons, on account of their poverty, which made a personal attendance in parliament an expensive and burdensome duty to them. *King Edward* at the same time required the cities and free boroughs to send members, or representatives, to parliament, to consent to the taxes that were necessary to be imposed upon them, instead of being tallaged in the manner above described. And thus arose our modern parliament of Lords and Commons, instead of the ancient one, consisting of tenants *in capite*.

Of

Of the Extent and Value of divers antient BARONIES.
Extracted from MADOX's *Baronia Anglicana*, Cap. iii.

Cottingham.

It appears by records cited in the notes to this chapter, that the manor of *Cottingham* was held of the king *in capite*, by the service of one barony; and that the manor of *Woton*, together with thirty messuages (or houses), three hundred acres of land, twenty acres of meadow, five hundred acres of pasture, and two hundred acres of wood, with the appurtenances, and 55 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* rent of assize to be paid by the free tenants (of the manor of *Woton*) at the terms of Pentecost and St. Martin equally, do all together constitute one fourth part of the manor or barony of *Cottingham*; that is, one thousand and twenty acres of land, thirty houses, and 55 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* rent from the free tenants, constitute one fourth part of the barony. Therefore the whole barony of *Cottingham* must have contained about four thousand acres of land, and 200 *l.* rent from the free tenants.

Dacre.

RALPH DACRE held the five following manors, to wit; the manor of *Irebynton*, with the castle of *Naward* belonging thereto, and all its other appurtenances; the manor of *Burgh* near *Sandes*, with all its appurtenances; the manor of *Kyrkefwald*, with all its appurtenances; the manor of *Lasingby*, with all its appurtenances; and the manor of *Farlbam*, with all its appurtenances. These he held *in capite* of King Edward III. by the service of one intire barony, and of doing fealty and homage to the king, and of paying the king yearly fifty-one shillings and eight-pence for cornage.

IN

IN 18 R. II, John Howard held of the king *in capite*, by the service of the third part of an intire barony, namely, of the barony of *Mountfychet*, or of *Richard de Mountfychet*, and ancestor of his wife's, the two following manors, to wit; the manor of *Great Ockley*, with the advowson of the church of the said manor, and other lands, and the manor of *Foulmer*, in the county of Cambridge, with the advowson of the church of the said manor. Therefore the whole barony of *Mountfychet* may be supposed to have consisted of about six manors of the size and value of those of *Ockley* and *Foulmer*, with the lands and rents appertaining to them, and the advowsons of the churches.

Mountfychet.

IN 35 Edw. I, the three following manors, to wit; the manor of *Cavendish* in Suffolk, the manor of *Longesbinton* in Warwickshire, and the manor of *Bradwell* in Oxfordshire, together with a certain tenement in *Periton* in *Hertfordshire*, constituted one half of the barony of *William de Limsey*, and were held of the king *in capite* by the service of one half of the said barony. Therefore that whole barony must have contained about six manors, with their appurtenances.

Limsey.

IN 15 R. II, the manor of *Sutton Walrand*, in the county of Dorset, the manor of *Arvone*, and half the town (*villatae*) of *Esgrympstede*, in Wiltshire, were held of the king *in capite*, by the service of half a barony, namely, of half the barony that had belonged to *Walter de Walrand*. Therefore the barony of *Walrand* must have consisted of about four manors, and the whole town of *Esgrympstede*.

Walrand.

Bruys.

IN 10 Edw. III, *Edmund de Twenge* held eleven messuages, eleven tofts, twenty-one plough-lands (*bovatas*), and seven acres of land, of the king *in capite*, by the service (of the 26th part of the 4th part, or) of the 104th part of the barony which had formerly belonged to *Peter de Bruys*. Therefore the barony of *Bruys* must have contained about eleven hundred houses, eleven hundred tofts, two thousand one hundred plough-lands, or oxgangs (*bovatas*), and seven hundred acres of land; or, if we allow fifteen acres to an oxgang, or *bovata*, which is the common computation, the barony of *Bruys* will have contained about eleven hundred houses, eleven hundred tofts, and thirty-two thousand two hundred acres of land.

Byset.

ABOUT the latter end of Henry the Third's reign, *John Byset* held a barony, called by his name, the barony of *Byset*, which consisted of the following particulars; to wit,
The manor of *Burgate*, cum parco et hundredo de *Manesbrigge*, in Suffolk.

The manor of *Wygband*, with its appurtenances, in Gloucestershire.

The manor of *Stoke*, with its appurtenances, in Oxfordshire.

Ten pounds of yearly rent in the suburbs of Oxford, with a meadow adjoining.

Fifty shillings of yearly rent from one knight's fee in Ireland.

The manor of *Kyderminster*, with the advowson of the church belonging to it, in Worcestershire.

The manor of *Rokeburn*, with two parks and assarts, in Hampshire.

The manor of *Combe*, with its appurtenances, in Wiltshire.

Two third parts of some lands in *Wychemanbank*, with their appurtenances, in the county of Chester.

The manor of *Edyndon*, with its appurtenances in Oxfordshire.

In all seven manors, besides other lands and rents. They were divided between *John Byset's* three daughters, and afterwards further subdivided. See *Madox*, page 52.

IN

IN 45 Edw. III, *Henry de Fakenham* held of the king *in capite* thirty acres of land, and seven marks of rent, issuing from certain free tenants, *et quatuor custumariis*, in the several towns of *Snyter-ton*, *Shropham*, *Wilby*, and others, as parcel of the barony of *Tat-sbal*, by the service of the hundredth part of the said barony. Therefore the barony of *Tat-sbal*, in the county of Norfolk, must have contained about three thousand acres of land, and seven hundred marks of rent. *Tat-sbal.*

IN 18 Rich. II, *Walter Romsey* held ten acres of land in *Combe Byset*, in the county of Wilts, *in capite* of the king, as parcel of the barony of *Byset*, by the service of the three hundredth part of the said barony; whence it follows, that the intire barony of *Byset* must have been equal in value to three thousand acres; and must therefore have consisted of at least that quantity of land. *Byset.*

IN 18 Rich. II, *Robert Todenham* held seven messuages or houses, one toft and an half, one hundred and twenty acres of land, and six acres of meadow, with their appurtenances, in *Ron-bal*, in the county of Bedford, of the king *in capite*, by the service of the third part of the eighteenth part, or of the fifty-fourth part of a barony; to wit, of the barony of *Bedford*. Whence it follows, that the barony of *Bedford* must have contained about three hundred and fifty houses, eighty tofts, six thousand five hundred acres of arable and other land, and three hundred acres of meadow ground. This barony had formerly belonged to *William Beauchamp*, or *de bello campo*. *Bedford.*

IN 17 Hen. VI, *Ralph Graystock* held the manor of *Morpeth*, with its members and appurtenances, in the county of Northum-
berland, *Morpeth.*

berland, of the king *in capite*, by the service of half a barony ; to wit, of half the barony of *Merlay* ; whence we may conclude that the barony of *Merlay* consisted of two such manors as the manor of *Morpeth*.

Greystock.

THE same person held the manor of *Greystock*, in Cumberland, of the king *in capite*, as of itself an intire barony.

Bulbek.

AND he also held the manor of *Styford*, with its appurtenances, in Northumberland, of the king *in capite*, by the service of the third part of the half, or of the sixth part, of a barony ; to wit, of the barony of *Bulbek*. Therefore the barony of *Bulbek* must have contained about six such manors as the manor of *Styford*.

Ewyas.

IN 18 Ric. II, *John de Montacute* held of the king *in capite*, by the service of the hundredth part of a barony ; to wit, of the barony of *Ewyas*, the following lands ; to wit,

First, THREE knights fees, with their appurtenances, in the county of Hereford, which lay in *Ewyas*, *Harrol*, *Monyton*, *Stradball*, and *Fokyszate*, and were held of *John de Montacute*, by *Thomas de la Barre* and *Muicom de la Mare*, by the service of three knights fees.

Secondly, Two knights fees, with their appurtenances, in the county of Somerset ; namely, the manors of *Poynkington* and *Eſt Chelworth*, with their appurtenances, which *Peter Courteney* held of *John de Montacute*, by the service of two knights fees.

Thirdly, EIGHT knights fees, and a quarter of a knight's fee, with their appurtenances, in Wiltshire, which were held of *John de Montacute*, by the several under-tenants following. The manor
of

of *Upton*, and divers lands and tenements in *Esfoudene*, in the county of Wilts, were held of *John de Montacute*, by *Thomas Corbet*, by the service of three knights fees and an half; the manor of *Teffunt Ewyas*, with its appurtenances, in the county of Wilts, was held of him by *Thomas Hungerford*, by the service of three fourths of a knight's fee; the manor of *Roucle*, with its appurtenances, in Wiltshire, was held of him by *Thomas Ruffel*, by the service of one knight's fee; and the manors of *Norton*, *Bavent*, and *Iyfbide*, with their appurtenances, were held of him by the prioress of *Dortford*, by the service of three knights fees.

It appears therefore, that thirteen knights fees and a quarter made but a hundredth part of the honor or barony of *Ewyas*. Therefore that whole barony must have contained about one thousand three hundred and twenty-five knights fees, which must have been a vast extent of territory.

N. B. It appears from the instance of the two manors of *Poyntington* and *Est Chelworth*, which *Peter Courteney* held of *John de Montacute*, by knights service, that manors are not always held of the king *in capite*, but may be held of a subject. Many more instances might be given of this.

Note 2. It appears also that the parts of a barony were not always contiguous to each other, for some parts of this barony lay in Herefordshire, others in Somersetshire, and others in Wiltshire. And this is still more evident in the barony of *Byset* abovementioned, the lands of which lie in the several counties of Suffolk, Gloucester, Oxford, Worcester, Hants, Wilts, Chester. A barony therefore seems to have been a groupe of lands given by the king to a man all at one time, though lying in very different parts of the kingdom, to be held of the king by certain military services, called *baronial*, and for

which lands the tenant was to pay one hundred pounds for relief, before the making the great charter, and afterwards one hundred marks. Further, it is probable that baronies had for the most part nearly the same services imposed upon them, and were worth to the owners nearly the same value; otherwise it would be unjust that they should all pay the same relief. But this must be understood with some limitation, and applied only to those baronies which were *mere* baronies, or which belonged to barons only, and not to those baronies which were the honours of earls, and are called in Magna Charta *baroniae comitum*, in contradistinction to the former, which are only *baroniae baronum*; for these baronies of earls paid a higher relief; and when the relief of the barony of a baron was settled by Magna Charta at one hundred marks, that of the barony of an earl was settled by the same Charter at one hundred pounds. The honor of *Ewyas*, which is so much larger than any of the foregoing ones here mentioned, might probably be the barony of an earl. Its extent is indeed amazingly great upon all suppositions, and almost exceeds belief: for if we allow six hundred and eighty acres for a knight's fee, which is the common computation, the honor of *Ewyas*, consisting of one thousand three hundred and twenty-five knights fees, will contain upwards of nine hundred thousand acres, which is very nearly the extent of the whole county of Surrey.

It is probable, that an honor, or barony, usually took its name either from the name or title of the person who possessed it (as was the case with the honor of *Richmond* in *Yorkshire*, which is frequently called the honor of *Britany* in *England*, because it belonged to the earl of *Britany*; and the like may be observed
of

of several other honors); or from the principal castle in the lands that composed it. But those lands were often very much dispersed, as has been observed in the instance of the barony of *Byset*. And as another instance of the same, it may be observed that *Ralph Greystock* held the manor of *Grymtborp* and *Hyldestelf*, in *Yorkshire*, of King Henry VI, as of his honor of *Chester*, that honor having been in the crown ever since the latter end of King Henry the Third's reign. When therefore we read of lands belonging to the honor of *Chester*, we must not immediately conclude that they are part of the county of *Chester*, as one is naturally apt to do; but they may lie in very distant parts of the kingdom.

THE values of the above-mentioned baronies, as they are collected in the foregoing pages, may be briefly stated as follows: The barony of *Cottingham* contained about four thousand acres of land, and two hundred pounds annual rent from the free tenants of its manors.

That of *Dacre*, five manors.

That of *Mountfychet*, about six manors, with the advowsons of the churches.

That of *Limsy*, about six manors.

That of *Warland*, about four manors, and the whole town of *Est Grympstede*.

That of *Bruys*, about eleven hundred houses, eleven hundred tofts, and thirty-two thousand two hundred acres of land.

That of *Byset*, seven manors, besides other lands and rents; or, by another computation, about three thousand acres of land.

That of *Tatshal*, about three thousand acres, and seven hundred marks rent; in 45 E. III.

That of *Bedford*, about three hundred and fifty houses, and seven thousand acres of land.

That of *Morley*, about two manors.

That of *Greyflock*, one manor.

That of *Bulbek*, about six manors.

That of *Ewyas*, about one thousand three hundred and twenty-five knights fees, or nine hundred thousand acres of land, which is as much as the whole county of Surrey.

MR. MADOX gives us also the number of knights fees contained in the following baronies; which seem many of them, by their magnitude, to have been the honors of earls, and some of them are known to be so. I have reduced them into acres (allowing six hundred and eighty acres to a knight's fee), to give the better idea of their extent.

Clare. The honor of the earl of *Clare* contained one hundred and thirty-one knights fees, and some fractions, that is, upwards of eighty-nine thousand acres.

Norfolk. The honor of *Hugh Bigot*, earl of Norfolk, one hundred and twenty-five fees, that is, eighty-five thousand acres.

Warwick. The honor of the earl of *Warwick*, one hundred and two fees, and a fraction, that is, upwards of sixty-nine thousand acres.

Eye. The honor of *Eye*, ninety fees, or sixty-one thousand two hundred acres.

Albiny. The barony of *William de Albiny Brito*, thirty-three knights fees, or twenty-two thousand four hundred and forty acres.

The

The barony of earl *Reginald*, two hundred and fifteen knights fees, and a fraction, that is, upwards of one hundred and forty-six thousand two hundred acres. *Reginald.*

The barony of *William de Meschines*, eleven knights fees, or seven thousand four hundred and eighty acres. *Meschines.*

The barony of *Petteward*, or *Petworth*, in Suffex, sixteen knights fees, or ten thousand two hundred acres. *Petworth.*

The honor of *Totnes* contained seventy-four knights fees, and some fractions of fees, that is, upwards of fifty thousand three hundred and twenty acres. *Totnes.*

The honor of *Glocester*, three hundred and twenty-seven fees, and some fractions, that is, upwards of two hundred twenty-two thousand three hundred and sixty acres. *Glocester.*

The barony of the earl of *Warren*, sixty knights fees, that is, forty thousand eight hundred acres. *Warren.*

The earl of *Ou's* (or *Eu's*, in Normandy) fee or barony of *Hastings* in Suffex, contained sixty two fees, and a fraction, that is, upwards of forty-two thousand one hundred and sixty acres. *Hastings.*

The earl of *Arundel's* barony, eighty-four fees and a fraction, that is, upwards of fifty-seven thousand one hundred and twenty acres. *Arundel.*

The barony of *Percy*, thirty fees, or twenty thousand four hundred acres. *Percy.*

The archbishopric of *Canterbury*, sixty knights fees, or forty thousand eight hundred acres. *Canterbury.*

The bishoprick of *Worcester*, forty-nine knights fees, and a fraction, that is, upwards of thirty-three thousand three hundred and twenty acres. *Worcester.*

The

- Norwich.* The bishopric of *Norwich*, forty knights fees, or twenty-seven thousand two hundred acres.
- Lincoln.* The bishoprick of *Lincoln*, five knights fees, or three thousand four hundred acres.
- Ely.* The bishopric of *Ely*, forty fees, or twenty-seven thousand two hundred acres.
- Winchester.* The bishoprick of *Winchester*, sixty fees, or forty thousand eight hundred acres.
- Westminster.* The abbey of *Westminster*, twenty-three fees and a fraction, or upwards of fifteen thousand six hundred and forty acres.
- Hereford.* The bishoprick of *Hereford*, five fees, or three thousand four hundred acres.
- St Edmund's.* The abbey of *St. Edmund's*, in Suffolk, forty fees, or twenty-seven thousand two hundred acres.
- Tavistock.* The abbey of *Tavistock*, fifteen fees, or ten thousand two hundred acres.
- Peterboro'.* The abbey of *Peterborough*, sixty fees, or forty thousand eight hundred acres.

See MADOX, *Bar. Ang.* Cap. v. pag. 91.

THESE are the several instances of the quantities of ancient baronies, mentioned by Mr. Madox, and may serve to give us a very tolerable idea of the extent of them. But we must not always conclude that the magnitudes of them are exactly proportional to the number of knights fees contained in them; but only that this is generally the case. The reason why they are not constantly in the exact proportion of the number of knights fees said to be contained in them is this; that sometimes a large tract
of

of land was given to a man, and but a small service required of him; and sometimes, I believe, no service at all, but only fealty and homage; but the former at least is certain, that only small services were sometimes required from large portions of land: Thus, for example, the manor of *Grymthorp* in Yorkshire was held of the king of his manor of *Chester*, by the service only of the fortieth part of a knight's fee; and the manor of *Hylderskelfe* by the service only of a fiftieth part of a knight's fee; although it is highly probable, and next to certain, that those manors must have been much larger than the fortieth and fiftieth part of the usual tract of land which constituted a knight's fee, or from which the service of a knight was generally required, which usual quantity is said by most writers to have been six hundred and eighty acres, and by some to have been eight hundred acres. It follows, therefore, that when we find a barony said to consist of only five knights fees, or that the service of only five knights was required from it, as is the case above with the bishopricks of Lincoln and Hereford, we cannot conclude with certainty that they contained no more than three thousand four hundred acres, or five times the usual quantity of a knight's fee; for it is possible they may have been favoured, and that fewer services may have been imposed upon them than upon other baronies of equal extent. But we may well suppose that it is *not less* than three thousand four hundred, or than the usual quantity of five knights fees, since it is not probable that six hundred and eighty acres, or the usual quantity of a knight's fee, was ever burthened with more than the service of one knight, unless it happened to be remarkably rich and fertile ground, much more valuable than the common run of land (which is an extraordinary case we need not here consider), although a less service might sometimes be required from it. The king may be supposed to have favoured some of his subjects in his distri-

butions of land to them, and to have required small services from them for large grants of land, but never to have burdened any of them with greater services than the quantity of land he gave them would easily enable them to perform. It is possible therefore that some of the smaller baronies above-mentioned, as the bishopricks of Hereford and Lincoln, may have been larger than they seem to be, and nearer to an equality with the other baronies. But we may conclude, with a good deal of probability, that none of the baronies above-mentioned are smaller than the value at which they are set down.

Note. A man might hold land of the king *in capite* by socage. For it is said, that *John de Montacute* held one (*serlingum*) yardland, with its appurtenances, in *Worthole*, in the county of *Devon*, of the king *in capite*, by socage-tenure, by the service of one penny *per annum* for all services. [*Bar. Angl.* page 55.] The same observation that has just now been made concerning the latter sort of baronies (beginning with the honor of *Clare*), and the quantities of whose knights services were known, and the extent in acres collected from thence, to wit, that the extents here set down are never greater, but may sometimes be less than the truth, may likewise be applied to the first set of baronies (beginning with the barony of *Cottingham*, and ending with that of *Ewyas*), which were computed by multiplying the known extents of given parts of them; for the magnitudes of those baronies so obtained can never be greater, though they may often be less, than the truth. The reason of this is not from the different quantity of service which may be imposed on lands of the same extent, as in the former case; but arises from the manner in which the baronies were divided upon their descents to female heirs. An instance will explain this matter. The barony of *Byset* consisted of seven manors, besides
other

other lands; and yet, by an inference from another passage relating to it, we have concluded it to be three thousand acres. Now it is highly probable that seven manors contained more than three thousand acres of land; and consequently that the extent assigned to this barony is too small; and the reason of this error in defect is this. We found that *Walter de Romesey* held ten acres of land *in capite* of the king by the three hundredth part of the barony of *Byset*; and this share came to him by several divisions and subdivisions of that barony upon descents to female heirs. Now in all those divisions the rule was, to give to each of the daughters an equally valuable portion, and not an equally extensive one: so that if part of the barony had been granted away to under-tenants (as was the case of the barony of *Ewyas* above-mentioned) in fee simple, upon small reserved rents and reliefs, and such other minute profits to the baron, and other parts of the barony were kept in the baron's hands, and either cultivated by his villains, or let to tenants at rack rents from year to year, it is evident that a much smaller portion of this latter part of the barony ought to be assigned to one of the coheiresses than of the former part of it, to the end that their portions may be equal to each other in value. Thus ten acres of the former part of it may possibly be as valuable as fifty acres in the latter. Consequently, if ten acres in demesne made the three hundredth part in value of the barony, the value of the whole barony must have been three hundred times as great as the value of those ten acres, or must have been equal to the value of three thousand acres in demesne. But as the whole of the barony was not probably in demesne, but great part of it granted away to tenants in fee simple, it must, to make up the value of three thousand acres in demesne, have

been of a much greater extent than three thousand acres, but cannot possibly be less. The same is evidently true of the other baronies, whose extents have been collected in the same manner, and which may therefore be considered as rather under-rated, in point of extent, than over-rated.

XL. *Observations on Mr. Maseres's View of the ancient Constitution of the English Parliament, by Charles Mellish, Esquire. In a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Norris, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, June 9, 1772.

I HAVE read with attention Mr. MASERES's *View of the ancient Constitution of the English Parliament*; and have received great information from many ingenious remarks there made on a subject, confessedly obscure and intricate.

BUT as I had occasionally ventured, while that Paper was in reading, to throw out some doubts with regard to particular doctrines there laid down, I have here collected, as more agreeable to the practice and wishes of the Society, the purport of what I then offered; not that I mean, or wish to be understood, to enter the lists with a gentleman of his consummate abilities and knowledge; but only to suggest to his reflection some authorities which may possibly have escaped his observation, and to offer some opinions, which, however erroneous they may be, I have long since adopted; but which I shall always be ready to renounce, whenever the principles on which they are founded are shewn to be untenable.

As advocates for truth only, we are both aiming at the same goal; and whether he, or I, happily arrive there first, is matter of

of less moment, so as the way be effectually cleared, and a landmark set up, to ascertain the region and boundaries of it.

I PERFECTLY agree with Mr. Maseres, that William the First claimed the crown by a pretendedly legal title, the will of Edward the Confessor [a], to which he afterwards joined the consent of the land-holders; for so I interpret what he calls the principal men. The latter, no doubt, was his best title. But I cannot conceive that, though he should have attempted, as is pretended, to alter the rights of property which had obtained here before his time, he could be able to effectuate it; nor that a measure, so replete with oppression and so liable to opposition, should be preferred, where no competent reason appears to indicate the necessity, or palliate the injustice of it. I am therefore inclined to discredit this opinion, whatever the prejudices and representations of bigoted historians may have suggested to the contrary. Let us take a view of the state of property before his time.

If we look into Tacitus [b], we shall there find the first traces of our ancient Saxon government. I say Saxon, because I think we need not go higher; though the laws of Howel Dhà seem to imply a feudal system more imperfect indeed, as subsisting even in the times of the Britons; concerning which Mr. Whitaker has written fully and learnedly in his History of Manchester.

THE Germans, from whom were derived our Saxon progenitors, were all warriors; all attendants on their prince, whose glory it was *magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari*; in peace *decus*, in bello *praesidium*; and the prince was most respected, *si numero et virtute comitatus emineat*. *Principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe*. *Principem defendere, tueri, sua quoque sortia sacra gloriae ejus assignare, praecipuum sacramentum est* [c].

[a] Hale's Hist. C. L. 5th ch.

[b] De Mor. Germ.

[c] Ibid.

THIS is the earliest account I have met with relative to this matter; and it in good measure coincides with my idea of fealty. Tacitus continues, *magnum comitatum non nisi vi belloque tuere*; whence, as well as from the nature of things, I infer, that the prince maintained his army; but it appears to have been by war and rapine, whilst it continued in Germany, a poor country, and overstocked with inhabitants; for *materia munificentiae per bella et raptus*. But when the Saxons had gained a footing in this rich country, it is reasonable to suppose their services were no longer to be gratified and compensated with the liberality of their prince, confined to the *bellatorem equum*, the *cruentam victtricemque frameam*, as heretofore; they sought for more substantial marks of his favour; and, as in Germany, *magna erat comitum aemulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus*, that spirit could never subside by conquest. I conclude therefore, that where-ever the German forces made conquests in England, they enslaved the natives, and seized such part of the lands as they pleased. Hence appears to me the origin of our pure villenage; concerning which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Thus Montesquieu observes [d], *Les Francs avoient conquis; ils prirent ce qu'ils voulurent, et ne firent des reglemens qu'entre eux*. And [e] *La resistance, la revolte, la prise des villes emportoient avec elles la servitude des habitants*. It would be too long a digression to enter minutely into the property of the crown at the different periods in which German forces came into this country. Suffice it to say, that the chief property in the several kingdoms belonged to the king of that kingdom, or his sub-tenants, and was consolidated under the monarchs of the Heptarchy. The conversion of allodial property into feudal increased in appearance, though not in fact, the power of the crown. More land it is true appeared to be holden on feudal principles; but the allodial people [f] were bound before to the

[d] L. xxx. c. 7. [e] C. 2. [f] Wilkins Ll. Alfred 4. Ll. Cnut 54.

civil jurisdiction, and were punished with the loss of life, and forfeiture of estate, in case of high treason.

I do not say that no acts of violence and oppression were committed by William the First. I believe with Ingulphus that there were many; and that in the latter part of his reign he did not promote the natives to offices of trust, upon the general principle in Curtius [g], *quos viceris, cave amicos tibi credas*; because he found even Waltheof ungrateful, whom he had married to his niece. But as to their ancient property, it was left, for the most part, as he found it, except where they forfeited their lands by conspiring against him; in which case the laws of Alfred and Canute seemed to him to be on his side [b]. Slavery was prior to the Conquest; lands descended before the Conqueror's days; and Doomsday Book is, to me, an authentic proof, that he altered not the rights of property; it being, for the most part, an account of the lands belonging to the crown in the time of Edward the Confessor; and he also confirmed the rights of his subjects by his 51st law.

INDEED, as the crown had so large a property of its own, increased by the forfeitures, mentioned by Mr. Maseres, and by the change of allodial into feudal lands, there seems less colour or necessity for an arbitrary alteration of property. However, though I may differ from this gentleman as to the origin of pure slavish villenage, which I conceive to have been grafted on the Saxon or Danish conquests; and as to the introduction of our feudal tenures, which I take to have proceeded from the will of the lord of the soil; William I. who let the lands on the tenures of his country; I agree with him, that we are to date the compleat introduction and establishment of those *Norman* tenures from his time.

[g] Lib. vii.

[b] See Ll. Cnut 51, *et passim*, as to Slavery, and Ll. Alfred 37 as to Estates. See also Wilkins's account of the claim of the Sharburn Family, in his preface to the Laws of William I.

I CONCUR in the idea that *an estate to a man and his heirs for ever* was an estate to him and his lineal descendants, and not his collateral relations; for, as a *feudum novum*, it could descend only to the blood of the first purchaser; and the numerous deeds of confirmation by heirs which we meet with, prove that the ancestor could not bar the heir. Indeed the laws of Alfred gave the heir this right [i]. Hence it followed, that where the parties meant to curtail the heir of such right, they inserted the clauses *heredibus, et heredibus heredum, vel cuicumque dare, vel vendere, vel legare, vel aliquo modo assignare voluerit*; which, putting it in the option of the first tenant to circumscribe, and to bar his heirs, rendered the right of the heir of no value; and then, by degrees, the courts of law interpreted the gift to be *to A alone*; and the words *and his heirs* to mean only the *quantum* of the estate given to A, which was for ever [k]. We are not to be surprized, if the heir thought he had a right *ex dono*; since I was asked my opinion once in the country by a man who did not want sense, whether, where an estate was given to A, and his heirs, A could bar his heirs.

Estate to A,
and his heirs.

LITTLE difference, I observe, is made by Mr. Maseres between Escheat, and Forfeiture for Treason. So says Fleta, *quoties per defectum vel delictum extinguatur sanguis tenentis*: and so I ever have thought: but the courts of law have attempted great distinctions in favour of prerogative, a word which had better be forgotten, being neither calculated for king nor people. It is too long a subject for discussion on the present occasion. I will only say, that I do not presume to argue against the distinction laid down in Lord Coke, and Salkeld, between the right of the king, holding as king, upon attainder for Treason [l]; and his right, as lord, in other escheats. The case of the manor of Peverel, mentioned by Lord Coke, the opinion of so great a judge and lawyer, and the two later cases in

Escheat, and
Forfeiture
for Treason.

[i] See Li. Alfred, 37. [k] See Plowden. [l] On 31 chap. of Magna Charta, Vol. II. Y y Salkeld,

Saikeld, bar me from attempting such a plea ; but I am not precluded thereby from giving my opinion as to the first introduction of a prerogative under which Lord Huntingdon and divers of the ancient nobility at this day smart ; and which has occasioned the extraordinary case of *an elder brother, born before pardon by charter*, who, on the death of his father, cannot inherit his estate : neither can the younger take it, though he has inheritable blood, during the life of his elder brother ; but the estate remains in abeyance till the elder brother is pardoned, or dies. Indeed, during the prevalence of the Roman religion, if the younger brother could prevail on his elder to profess, and *meri civiliter*, he might succeed to the estate. I fear much that this distinction pays a compliment to the crown at the expence of the 31st chapter of Magna Charta. I wish the crown lawyers would consider, that the state of property among us is now quite altered ; we both give the produce of the land, which we hold, with more facility to the crown, than our ancestors gave theirs ; and hold the same with more (if I may so call it) allodial independance. Monarchy is now properly tempered with liberty ; and the same severity, which formerly in a warlike enthusiastic people made the happiness of government, is now the bane of it. The king cannot secure his throne on a firmer basis than on the liberty of his subjects, which must insure their love ; and we may now, with safety to the state, revert to that excellent rule, I believe of the civil, I am sure of the common law, “ That no one shall suffer for a fault which he is not proved to have committed ; and till proof had, he shall be presumed innocent.”

MR. Maseres, I observe, proceeds to give the usual account of the descent to the eldest son, and shews upon what principles of policy it was founded, and the good effects to be expected from it ; and blames the division among the daughters in coparcenary. If I mistake not, Feuds originally descended to all the

the sons; and the book of Feuds says so. Certainly lands descended in Gavel-kind among the ancient Britons; and Mr. Whitaker [m] thinks the plan of the division of the estates among all the sons, whilst the crown was hereditary, was creative of absolute authority; as the crown could be in no fear of opposition from the greatness or the exorbitancy of an overgrown fortune in any of the barons. Mr. Maseres, speaking of the Norman system, thinks it the most perfect and durable of all systems of monarchical government; and the best fitted to preserve the liberties of the people against the encroachments of the crown. For my part, though I agree with both writers in their observations, I must say thus much, that the British and Kentish division of Gavel-kind was humane, though it may have been impolitic; and that the Norman system in its consequences, while it freed the people from the tyranny of one, served to make them slaves to many.

It is scarce necessary to mention, that the Conqueror's laws are published by Dr. Wilkins, as well as Dr. Gale; also by Lambarde, and others, except for Mr. Maseres's information, who probably has not seen those editions thereof.

Mr. Whitaker is of a contrary opinion to Mr. Maseres in the case of Reliefs; for Mr. Whitaker thinks that Relief was known in England before William I. and founds that opinion on the laws of Howel Dha.

Reliefs, &c.

I AGREE, that in the time of William I, parliaments were composed of tenants in chief to the king; but they were, I conceive, such tenants only in chief as held by military service. It is said, indeed, that tenants in chief who held in socage were members of the great council; but herein I must beg leave to differ; for though I find in the time of the Britons, that the Feud (a British word for Estate) was held by military service, and also by socage rents; and though divers instances are given of such hold-

Tenants in capite.

[m] History of Manchester, p. 151.

ings, under the Norman kings, yet I think that they appeared in parliament for no other purpose but to do their duty of counsel, as military tenants, and to assess what should be paid by such as had been remiss in their duty; and I know not what business a socage tenant, merely as such, had to transact in parliament. When military tenures came in process of time to be changed into rents; when the scutages supplied the place of personal service, and armies were raised by indentures in the Exchequer; when subinfeudations increased; when representation took place; the service by military tenure was, of course, superseded; and there being scarce such a person as a tenant in chief by military service, and great alterations in property having been made in a civil war, the legislature thought fit to abolish the military service by statute 12 C. I.

Subinfeudations.

The effect of Subinfeudations seems only to have made it difficult to know who ought to attend at parliaments; but this difficulty was removed by the Statute *Quia emptores terrarum*, &c. and by the mode of representation, which fixed the rights of the voters.

The different parliaments.

Mr. Maseres has made an accurate distinction with respect to parliaments; and I am firmly persuaded with him, that there was an essential difference between the *curia de more condonata* (which met regularly at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, whether the king summoned them or not) and the *conventus principum ex edicto regis*. Could we ascertain the practices of antiquity, we should find perhaps that this *conventus principum* was the origin of that great council of peers which met in the times of Charles I., as Clarendon mentions.

Summons to parliament.

I will not take upon me to say that there was in those early days a constant regularity observed in summoning to parliament. I have read, though where I cannot at present recollect, that even women have been summoned to parliament.

In those times the rights and prerogatives of the crown were not so rigorously examined; but, if the king oppressed the nation, an insurrection ensued, which soon convinced him of his error.

As

As to villenages, the proper division, I apprehend, should be into those holden by *certain*, and those by *uncertain* services. Villenage.

THE Villenages holden by certain base services are tenants in ancient demesne, or at present copyholders, holding according to the custom of the manor, but not at the will of the lord [n]. These villains were known to the ancient Britons and to the Irish; though Bracton says they arose from the Conquest. He proves they were freemen,

THE Villenages holden by uncertain base services were called Pure Villenages; and these were holden either by slaves or freemen. Those holden by slaves arose, I conceive, principally from the Saxon and Danish conquests; though some such existed in the time of the Britons, as Mr. Whitaker has shewn; but pure Villenages holden by freemen may have arisen from the Norman conquests; and Bracton gives the following account of them:

Item tenementum non mutat statum liberi magis quam servi. Poterit enim liber homo tenere purum villanagium faciendo quicquid ad villanum pertinet, et nihilo minus liber erit, cum hoc faciat ratione villanagii et non personae suae, et ideo poterit quando voluerit villanagium deferere, et liber discedere, nisi illaqueatus sit per uxorem nativam ad hoc faciendum, ad quam ingressus fuit in villanagium, et quae praestare poterit impedimentum.

AND indeed it seems no way improbable, that those villains whom Bracton takes notice of (where he is speaking of ancient demesne) who had been ousted of their tenements by William the Conqueror, might return, and become tenants upon base and certain services; but might also, from necessity, take the lands upon the basest and most uncertain services.

I would observe, that villains *ratione personae* might not only be entirely manomitted, but also partially privileged from the

[n] Whitaker's History of Manchester, p. 206.

seizure of the lord ; and this, by being professed ; by being made a knight ; by being a priest in the king's chapel ; by a niece marrying a freeman, &c. These privileges, however, did not absolutely manumit [o].

THE form of manumission was thus [p] :

Qui servum suum liberat in ecclesiâ, vel mercato, vel comitatu, vel bundredo, coram testibus, et palam faciat ; et liberas ei vias et portas conscribat apertas, et lanceam et gladium, vel quae liberorum arma ei ponat in manibus.

By Manumission and Infranchisement, on the decision of courts, who were very astute in their interpretations, pure Villenage *ratione personae* is worn out in England as in France. The villain, acquiring a freedom of person, soon acquired a property, with which he purchased from the lord various indulgences, and at last made even his tenure certain : for, having gained his freedom, he at first held, as before, by services of the basest and most uncertain tenure ; he then altered the tenure to base and certain services ; and then often changed them into a rent ; witness the Bickon-tenants, and most of the tenants by ludicrous services. Sanctuaries may also, in the method Mr. Maseres mentions, have increased the number of Pure Villains.

Tenants for
years.

BUT I cannot agree with him, that Tenants for Years were other than Freeholders.

Burgages.

I AM of opinion, that the right of the Clergy to taxes of servants arose from taxes on slaves ; and is not now to be maintained. Some Burgages may have been composed of Villains, *ratione tenementorum* ; but not many, as I take it, *ratione personarum* ; and so far was Nottingham from being in that abject state, that the burgesses of Nottingham had slaves of their own. And by an attested copy in the hands of Thomas Astle, Esquire, King John grants, for sixty-six marks, to the burgesses of Derby, a Confirmation of

[o] 1 Inst. p. 136. b. 137. b.

[p] 1 Inst. ib. from Lib. Ruber. c. 78.

their

their liberties; an implication that they were free before King John's Charter. It refers also to the rights of Nottingham *tempore Henrici praevis*, or Henry I.

TAXES may have been raised by arbitrary power oftener on burgages than on other tenures; but the burgesses endeavoured to keep up appearances; they voted first whether they should supply the King's wants, and then voted the *Quantum* of the supply.

THE privilege of incorporation was rarely granted to others than freemen; including in that idea the pure villains, who held *ratione tenementorum*, under the word freeman, *quia potuit villenagium deferre*.

Incorporation.

I ENTIRELY agree with Mr. Maseres that great humanity was in this kingdom shewn to the villain *ratione personarum*.

IT is observed, that most of the infranchisements of boroughs happened in the reign of H. II. R. I. John, and H. III. But this subject has been so amply treated by Dr. Brady, and still more professedly by that elaborate antiquary, Mr. Madox, in his *Firma Burgi*, that there is less occasion to enter upon it here.

I TOTALLY agree with Mr. Maseres, that a tenant of the 300th part of a barony was intitled to sit in parliament; and that hence arose the division into *Barones Majores*, and *Minores*: but I do not apprehend that the *Barones Minores* were summoned, generally, before Magna Charta; because the grievance complained of seems to have been, that the king summoned specially whom he pleased; and in that statute it is expressly stipulated, that the king shall send special writs to every greater baron; and shall summon the *Barones Minores* by a general writ directed to the sheriff.

Tenant of 300th part of Barony.

THE

Mr. MELLISH's Observations, &c.

THE remarks on the extent of manors in the appendix are very curious.

I FEAR I need an apology for an intrusion from which you are not likely to derive much information or pleasure; but I thought the subject interesting, and wished to excite some gentleman of more adequate abilities to take it up and pursue it, and by throwing fresh light upon it clear it from that mist of obscurity in which it is at present enveloped.

TRUTH will ever bear the strictest scrutiny; and that excellent constitution, which has been refined and purified from its dross by the experience of ages, will come forth still more perfect, when its antient usages are inquired into, under the inspection of this learned Society.

I am,

SIR,

Your obliged servant,

Charles Mellish.

XLI. *Druidical Remains in or near the Parish of Halifax in Yorkshire, discovered and explained by the Rev. John Watson, M. A. F. S. A. and Rector of Stockport in Cheshire.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Nov. 21, 1771.

THE first druidical remain which I shall mention, is called the *Rocking-Stone*, and two different views thereof are exhibited at N° 1 and 2 of the etched plate attending these remarks. It is situated so as to be a boundary mark between the two townships, *Golcar* and *Slaightbwaite* in the parish of *Huddersfield*, on what is called *Golcar-Hill*, and gives the name of *Hole-Stone Moor* to the adjoining grounds. The size of it is about ten feet and half long, nine feet four or five inches broad, and five feet three inches thick. It rests on so small a center, that at one particular point, a man may cause it to rock, though it has been damaged a little in this respect by some masons, who endeavoured to discover the principle on which so large a weight was made to move.

THESE kind of stones Mr. *Borlase* in his antiquities of *Cornwall*, p. 170, says are in that part of the world called *Logan Stones*, which he conjectures may come from *Logan*, which in the *Guidhelian* (or Irish) British signifies a *pit, or hollow of the hand*, because in such hollows this moving stone is often found; or it may be a corruption of the British *Llygatyn*, *bewitching*, because the singular property of this stone might seem the effect of witchcraft. The first of these opinions has this against it, that all *Logan* stones are not found in hollows, which yet would be necessary to get this general name for them all. In the north of England they are mostly found on high situations, which, if I mistake not, this people chose as often as they could. The second

seems a little far fetched; and yet the name of *Golcar* where the stone in question is placed, may be thought to favour it in some degree, if it be taken for a contraction of *Galderear*; for *Galtepe* in the Anglo-Saxon language means an inchanter, or a foreteller of future events, the very character of a Druid; and *Lapp* is a rock. It is uncertain what language the word *Logan* is derived from, which makes it more difficult to guess at its meaning. One would think that as the name seems peculiar to *Cornwall*, the etymology of it should be fetched from the ancient language of that country, and if so, why may it not be a contraction of *le*, a place, and *bogen*, vile, and get the appellation of the vile or wicked place, when the inhabitants of that neighbourhood began to embrace Christianity? or *Le* may be considered as a prepositional article, and the words stand thus, *L' Hogen Stones, the vile stones*, alluding to such practices of the Druids there, as the following more enlightened ages held in detestation.

Mr. Toland thought the Druids made the people believe that they only could move these stones, and that by a miracle; but how easy was it to detect this cheat! It was not in the power of the Priests to lock them up, or even to guard them so as to prevent the vulgar from having access to them. If indeed it was a common notion amongst them that they were inhabited by spirits, the generality might be deterred from making any rude approaches to them; but still the credit of the Druidical system hung by a very slender thread, if it depended on nothing else but this; for it would then have been daily liable to have been exposed to public detection by every daring or disgusted man, especially the latter, who, finding that the stone would yield to his touch, as well as that of the Priest, would, out of revenge, or to set aside the bad consequences of an excommunication, have revealed the secret to the deluded multitude. The misfortune is, that the use of these moving stones can only be guessed at, and therefore all reasoning about them is uncertain. For my part,

part, I am of opinion that this rocking quality was known by the vulgar to have been given them in order the better to adapt them to the practices of their religion. It might be a principle amongst them, that after such were consecrated by the priests, they became the residence of divine beings; or, as motion was the emblem of life, they might look upon these, as fit emblems to represent the eternal existence of the Supreme Being.

HAVING given my sentiments concerning this curiosity, which lies a little without the bounds of the parish of *Halifax*, I proceed to take the townships of the said parish in alphabetical order, where any footsteps of the Druids may be traced, either from names, or actual remains.

BARKISLAND.

IN this township is a small ring of stones, now called by the name of the *Wolf-Fold*. It is but a few yards in diameter, but the exact measurement of it I have lost, or mislaid. The stones of which it consists are not erect, but lie in a confused heap like the ruins of a building. This place I took at first, from its name, to have been either a decoy for the taking of wolves, or a place to secure them in for the purpose of hunting; but observing that Mr. *Borlase*, p. 198, has attributed some such little cirques to the Druids, I have mentioned it here for the farther examination of Antiquaries, who are desired to take notice that if ever there was a wall here of any strength, the best stones must have been carried away; for what are left are extremely rude, and totally unfit of themselves to compose any sort of building; also that these few insignificant pebbles, as they now appear, must be of considerable antiquity, as well as once have been of considerable account, because they give the name of *Ringstone-edge* to a large tract of land around them.

NOT far from this Ringstone-edge in the said township, is a parcel of rocks on a common called *Hole-Stone Moor*, corrupted (as I take it) from *Holy-Stone Moor*, or *Holed-Stone Moor*, either of which shew that the Druids did once make use of them; but whatever of this sort might once be here, it is now destroyed, and our conjectures are formed only from the name.

N O R L A N D.

AT the edge of *Norland Moor* (which adjoins to the above township of *Barkisland*), amongst a large ridge of rocks, is a very ponderous stone, which projects over the side of the hill, and has a very uncommon appearance. It is called the *Lad Stone*, but for what reason the inhabitants of the neighbourhood cannot tell. Taking it all together, it is not unlike what Mr. *Borlase* has told us of the *Druidical* seats of judgment; and it tends not a little towards confirming this opinion, that the southern point of this common (from whence is a very extended prospect) is to this day called *Gallypole Hill*, and in a deed of 1568 *Le Gallows Hill*, where it is probable such as were found guilty were executed, or at least hung up to public view. The question is then, whether it has a British or an Anglo-Saxon name, to prove it a remain of this sort. In the former, *Lladd* is to kill or put to death; and in the latter *Labe* is a purgation by trial; and from one of these the modern appellation may possibly be derived.

R I S H W O R T H.

IN this township, which adjoins to *Barkisland* aforesaid, is a group of rocks laid seemingly one above another, to the height of several yards, as described at N° 5. of the plate. It is called the *Rocking-Stone*, and tradition says that it once had this moving quality, but on some account or other it has lost it now. Near this.

this stone is a well, or spring, called *Booth-Dean Spaw*, which is much esteemed by the country people, and has been a good deal resorted to, though it is remarkable for no one good quality; but from its vicinity to this Rocking-stone, and from the notice which continues to be taken of it, though it is at a considerable distance from any inhabited part of the country, I conclude that it was consecrated by the Druids, and being once held sacred, the remembrance thereof is not yet quite obliterated.

THIS place, notwithstanding it is now a wild uncivilized waste, I take to have been inhabited in the times preceding Christianity. One reason for this opinion is taken from its name. *Bod* in the ancient British signified an house or habitation; this word the Anglo-Saxons would write and pronounce *Bode*, or *Bothe*, which in modern spelling will be *Booth*. Another reason is, because there are yet to be seen the foundations of a large building, not far from the above Rocking-stone, near a place called *Castle-Dean*, in the neighbourhood of which are many rocks of various shapes and sizes, where I suppose a Druid might exercise every part of his religion. Now as there is no other visible site of a large building hereabouts but this, the castle (as it was called) must once have stood here. Not that it was ever a place of much strength; the ground it was fixed upon was not well chosen for this; but if the Druids made it their chief residence, it might be fortified a little for their defence, and thus in after-times acquire the name of a castle.

S T A N F I E L D.

THIS part of the parish affords more rocks than any other, which, from their shape, size, situation, and other circumstances, give ground for conjecture that the Druids had here a large settlement. For in those times when the Supreme Being himself, as well as other fancied deities, were thought to reside in rocks
and

and stones, and consequently it was deemed right to worship them there; the priests would naturally reside in such places as they were to officiate in; and the bulk of the people too would contrive to have their residence as near to them as their other conveniences would allow.

WE may also suppose that every rock or stone which nature left fit for their religion, was at one time or other used by them; for when a divination or enchantment was not prosperous in one place, they would, agreeably to the superstition of those times, make trial of another. Thus Balak, when he found himself disappointed in his first attempt, said to Balaam, *Come, and I will bring thee unto another place; peradventure it will please God that thou mayest curse me the Israelites from thence.*

ON this supposition, there are many places of Druidical worship hereabouts, but none are half so remarkable as what are called the *Bride Stones*. Here is one upright stone, or pillar, called the *Bride*, whose perpendicular height is about five yards, its diameter in the thickest part about three, and the pedestal about half a yard; near this stood another large stone, called the *Groom*, which is thrown down, as the *Bride* has also been attempted to be; and at small distances are several others of different magnitudes, and a vast variety of rocks and stones so scattered about the common, that I doubt not but some curious discoveries might here be made, if a proper survey was carefully taken of the whole.

AT the end of the second edition of *Rowland's Mona Antiqua*, is a description of a Druidical remain in *Staffordshire*, called also the *Bride-Stones*, which affords a presumptive argument that this in *Stansfield* was made use of by the same people. I wish the author or publisher of that description had attempted to explain the particular use of the place; but as this has not been done, we are left to struggle with the difficulty as well as we can. What then if this was a Druid Temple used (amongst other things) for the

the purpose of marrying? The words Groom and Bride lead one in some measure to think so; for why should names of this sort be used, except it was to keep up the remembrance of some ancient custom? About eight miles from *Bath* is a Druidical Remain of erect stones called the *Wedding*; but why the *Wedding*, if no such ceremony was ever performed there?

It is said that *Bride-Stones* may only be a name given to the rocks in *Stansfield* on some trifling, but now unknown occasion; I answer, that this was the name by which they were known towards the end of the 15th century. I have seen an original deed, dated 6 Henry VII. wherein *Richard Radcliffe of Todmorden, Esq.* granted to *John Olynakes of Colingworth* a messuage called *Falgynroyd* in *Stansfield*, lying between an hill called *Humberd* on the south, *Bridstones* on the north, *Stanele* on the east, and *Orkenstone* (possibly miswrote for *Cocking-stone*) on the west. Now if they were so well known by this name about the year 1491, as to be distinguished in the deeds, we may reasonably conclude that it was no new appellation even then, and therefore might possibly be much older than that period; most likely as antient as the days of our Saxon ancestors, who knowing by tradition that these two standing monuments had been consecrated to the marriage rite, gave one the name of the *Bryð*, which in their language signified a woman just given in marriage, and the other that of *Guma*, a man, meaning the Bride's man, or husband, from whence comes our Bride's Groom.

If the above conjecture is right, then I conclude that during the ceremony, the groom stood by one of the pillars, and the bride by the other, the priests having their stations by the adjoining stones, the largest perhaps being appropriated to the Arch-Druid, or the priest of the highest authority, when he gave his attendance on the occasion. Civil contracts of the highest nature

ture were antiently performed the parties standing at the same time by a pillar; thus Judges ix. 6. *Abimelech* was made king by the pillar which was in *Shechem*: and when *Jeboas* was to be chosen King, and the covenant was to be made between the Lord, the people, and him, he stood by a pillar, as the manner was, 2 Kings xi. 14. I will only add, that a stone pillar amongst people who dealt so much in representations was not an unfit emblem of the strong and perpetual obligations the contracting parties laid themselves under.

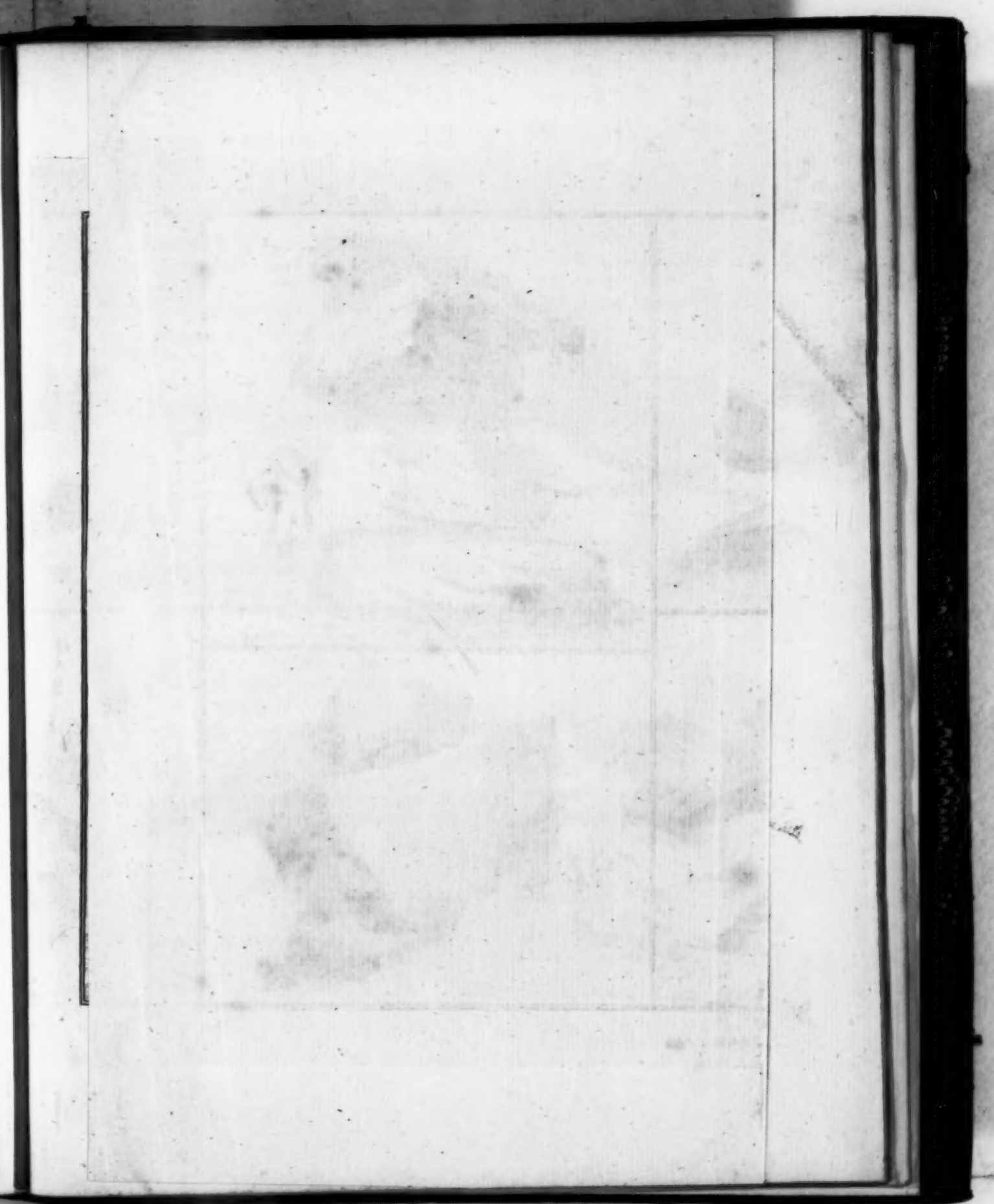
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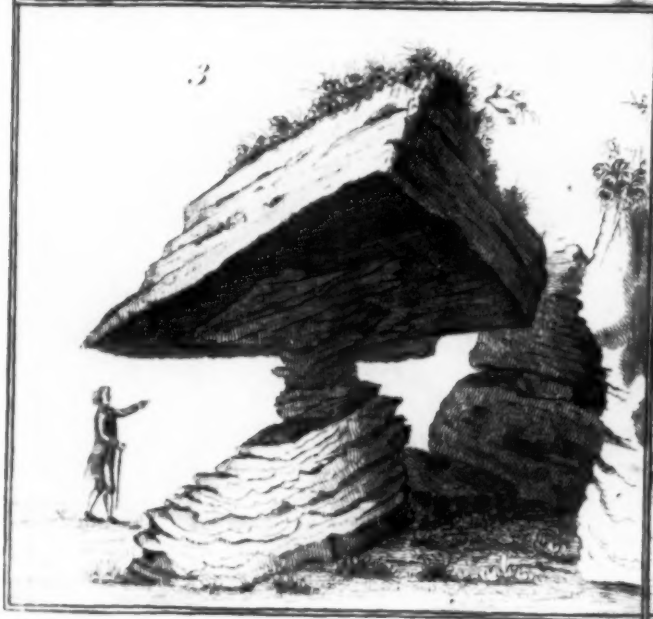
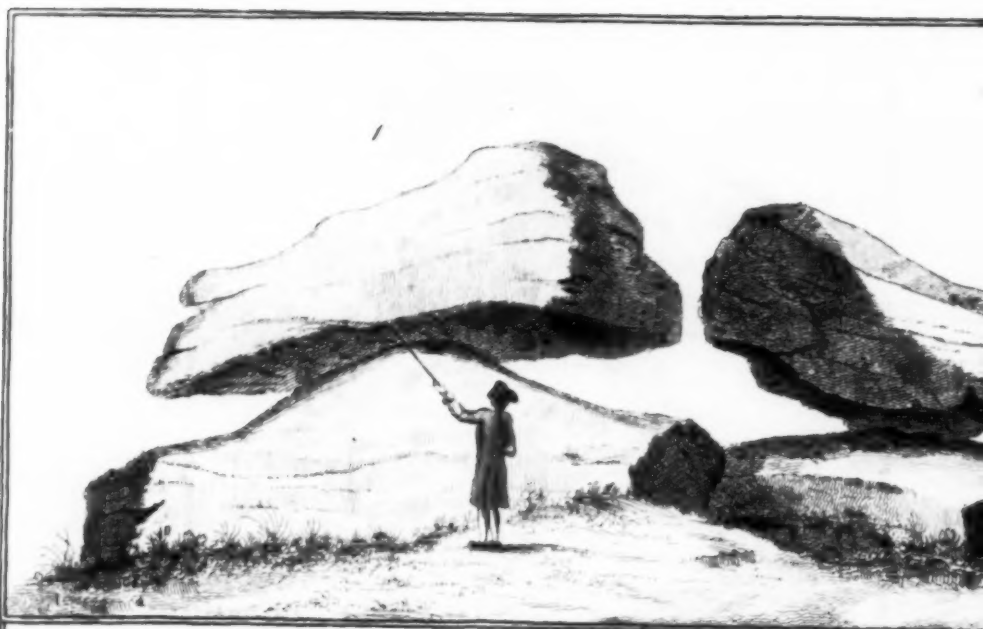
HAS in it a rude stone pillar, called the Standing Stone, very massy, and near six feet high above the ground; it also seems to be sunk pretty deep into the earth. This, which has the appearance of great antiquity, may have been an idol of the heathen inhabitants of this land, such as was forbidden, Leviticus xxvi. 1. *Ye shall make you no idols, nor graven image; neither rear you up a standing image* (in the original a pillar): *neither shall ye set up any image stone in your land, to bow down unto it.* If this was not the use of it, it might mark out the burial place of some great person; thus, when Rachel died, Jacob set up a pillar on her grave, Genesis xxxv. 20. Or lastly it might be erected to perpetuate some remarkable event, the very tradition of which is now lost.

THERE is *Ladstone* in this township of Somerby mentioned in a Court-roll dated 6 Henry VII. and described to be near the borders of Ayringden; but I could hear nothing of it; so conclude it is demolished.

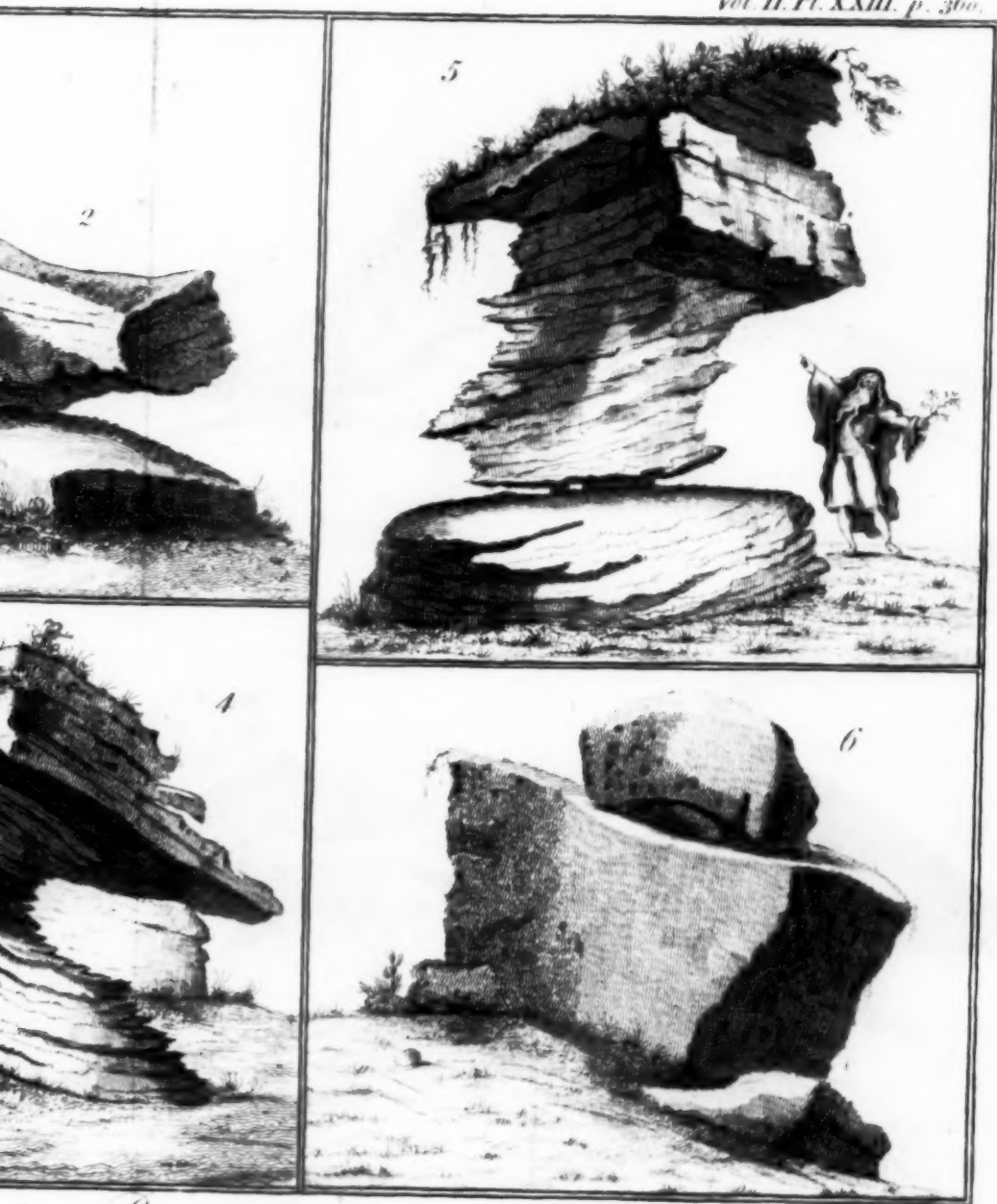
W A R L E Y.

ON a common called *Saltonfall moor*, is what the country people call the *Rocking-stone*; two views of which are exhibited at





Druidical



Remains.

N^o 3 and 4 of the plate. It is a large piece of a rock, the height of which on the west side which is the highest, is, as I remember, about three yards and an half. One end of it rests on several stones of large magnitude, between two of which is a pebble of a different grit, so placed that it could not possibly be taken out whole, without breaking or removing the rocks; so that in all probability they have been laid together by art. It ought to be observed, that the stone in question, from the form and position of it, could never be a Rocking-stone, though it is always distinguished by that name. The true Rocking-stone appeared to me to lie at a small distance from it, thrown off its center. The other part of this stone is laid upon a kind of pedestal, broad at the bottom, but narrow in the middle; and round this pedestal is a passage, which from every appearance I judge to be the effect of design; but for what purpose is the question.

It seems to me to have been intended for the same use as the Tolmen described by Mr. *Borlase*, p. 166; for, like those monuments, it has been carefully kept from touching the ground. It has a passage under it, and has some cavities, or basins, cut on the top of it. But whether that gentleman is right in his conjectures about them, I cannot determine. I will venture to add one more. It is well known that in ancient Greece there was a custom of returning oracular answers by a voice uttered from a secret place. This appears to have been contrived to give the greater sanction to what was delivered, as though it was some Deity who spoke. And why may not these artful Druids have practised something similar to this, as they were frequently consulted about future events? The custom was not confined to Greece; the Prophet *Isaiab* has mentioned it, chap. viii. ver. 19; for what is there rendered from the Hebrew, *seeking to winards that mutter*; the Seventy translate *αὐτοὶ τῆς γῆς φωνῶντες*, *speaking out of the earth*; and with this agrees the Arabic version.

IN the township of *Soyland* in this parish is another but smaller remain of this sort, which goes by the name of the *Awse* (or Fairy) *Hole*. For it was a commonly received opinion amongst our Saxon ancestors, that all caves, and remarkable hollows in the earth, were inhabited by Fairies, an inferior sort of Deities, which the Druids are also said to have believed in, and even to have worshiped; but I cannot tell whether they allowed them these kind of habitations or not.

On *Saltenshall moor* above-mentioned is also an heap of stones, which, at a distance (for I was prevented both by the bogginess of the ground, and the want of time, from viewing them near) looked like a carnicle, of a pyramidical shape.

AND soon after I had left the moor, on the right side of the road, leading to the village of *Luddenden*, I saw what is generally called *Robin Hood's Pennystone*, as at N° 6. of the plate. It is of several tons weight, laid upon a massy piece of rock, with a large pebble of different grit between them, which is wedged so fast, that it was plainly put there by human art or strength. Meeting with only one person to converse with, I could not learn whether it ever had rocked; but if it did, probably it was poised on this pebble, and may some time or other have been thrown off its center. It has so uncommon an appearance, that it is difficult to class it amongst the various monuments of the Druids; but it is so much in the stile of that people, that I scruple not to attribute it to them. It is fathered upon *Robin Hood*, because that noted outlaw was much in these parts, and the country people here attributed every thing of the marvelous to him, as in Cornwall they do to King Arthur.

THERE are other proofs that the Druids inhabited this parish; such as a considerable part of the township of *Wadsworth* being still called *Crimlisbworth*, as I take it, from *Cromlech*, a sepulchral

sepulchral monument of that people. This also was a woody part of the country, as appears from the name of *Wadsworth*, or *Woodsworth*. It was an essential amongst the Druids to worship in groves, and such this country was once famous for, though now but few remain. There is however a remarkable fine wood of oaks at High Greenwood in Stansfield; and I doubt not but Bride-stones once stood in or near to a grove, where at the proper season they might cut the sacred mistletoe. The Rocking-stone in Rishworth, above described, has not a tree within some miles of it, and yet the name of Catmoss in the neighbourhood (from *Coed*, the British name for a number of trees growing together) shews it once to have been woody.

THESE are the few remarks which I made on this subject during my residence in the parish of *Halifax*; a country which, I suppose, has never been examined by any antiquary but myself, and therefore these discoveries have at least the merit of being new. My sudden removal from those parts prevented me from finishing what I intended in this way, but if the above be thought worthy of a place in the *Archaeologia*, I shall with pleasure present the Society with the plate herein referred to, and am their humble servant,

Stockport, April 19, 1771.

JOHN WATSON.

XLII. *Extract of a Letter from the Reverend Mr. Bentham, of Ely, to the Dean of Exeter, concerning certain Discoveries in Ely Minster.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Feb. 6, 1772.

REVEREND SIR,

GIVE me leave to add the following particulars (by way of additional note to what is said in the History and Antiquities of the Church of Ely, page 85,) concerning the removal of some Bones, in the pious conservation of which our ancestors were pleased to interest themselves, from a grateful remembrance of that beneficence which the persons there mentioned had exercised towards the Religious of this place. These bones had for a long time been immured within the north wall of the late choir. When it became necessary, on account of removing the choir to the east end of the church, to take down that wall, I thought proper to attend, and also gave notice of it to several gentlemen, who were desirous of being present when the wall was demolished. There were the traces of their several effigies on the wall, and over each of them an inscription of their names. Whether their relicks were still to be found was uncertain; but I apprised those who attended on that occasion, May 18, 1769, that, if my surmises were well founded, no head would be found in the cell which contained the bones of Brithnoth, duke of Northumberland. The ground of my expectation in that particular circumstance was the account given by the author of the *Liber Eliensis* of the unfortunate battle of Maldon in Essex, A. D. 991, that the Danes took away with them the head of that brave warrior. The event corresponded to my expectation. The bones were found
inclosed

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WLSTANVS
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 A. D. MXXIII.

OSMVNDVS
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 A. D. MLXVII.

ALWINVS
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The exact Length of some of the principal Bones of the Perf

Arch
 W
 In

- Os Femoris, or Thigh Bone.
- Tibia, or greater Bone of the Leg.
- Os Humeri, or Arm Bone.
- Ulna, or Cubitus, of the Arm.
- Clavicula, or Collar Bone.

N. B. Those marked thus + are so mu

On the Length of these several *Thigh Bone*
 SUPPOSING, as in the ordinary proportion, the upper extremity of the thigh
 or, in other words, that the thigh-bone is $\frac{1}{2}$ of the length of the whole body,

Archbishop Wlstan 6 feet 1 ; Bishop Alwin 6 feet 2

THE longest thigh-bone in my collection is under nineteen inches, and there a
 length of the thigh-bone of the famous dwarf Leather-coat Jack.

N. B. THE obliquity of the thigh-bone will be nearly balanced by the loss of
 UPON the whole, as the upper extremity of the thigh-bone may be a little al
 were more than six feet and one or two inches, we may reasonably suppose that
 about six feet six or seven inches.

✱

SVBTVS CONDVNTVR
 M DE ELIENSIBVS OPTIME MERITORVM
 CONVENTVALI PIE ADSERVATA;
 DRALEM SOLENNITER TRANSLATA MCLIV;
 VALI PARIETE NVPERI CHORI INCLVSA;
 ELLO CAPSVLAE QVAEQVE SVAE REDDITA
 ID. CAL. AVG. MDCCLXXI.
 REQVIESCANT!

ÆLFGARVS EPVS ELMHAMENSIS OBIIT A. D. MXXI.	EDNOTHVVS EPVS DORCESTRENSIS CÆSVS A DANIS A. D. MXVI.	ATHELSTANVS EPVS ELMHAMENSIS OBIIT CIRCA A. D. DCCCCXCVI.	BRITHNOTHVVS NORTHVMBRIOR. DVX PRÆLIO CÆSVS A DANIS A. D. DCCCCXCI.
---	--	---	--

Persons above-mentioned found in the Wall of the Old Choir at ELY, May 18, 1769.

Archbishop	Bishop	Bishop	Bishop	Bishop	Bishop	Duke
Wlstan.	Osmund.	Alwin.	Elfgar.	Ednoth.	Athelstan.	Brithnoth.
Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches.	Inches
18 $\frac{1}{2}$	+	18 $\frac{6}{16}$	18 $\frac{3}{16}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	+	20 $\frac{1}{2}$
+	15 $\frac{1}{16}$	15 $\frac{1}{16}$	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{7}{16}$	+	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
+	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	+	13 $\frac{1}{16}$	+	+	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
+	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	11	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	+	+	11 $\frac{1}{16}$
+	5 $\frac{7}{16}$	6	+	+	+	6 $\frac{1}{2}$

much broken as not to be measured with exactness.

Bones Dr. HUNTER communicated the following Observations.

high-bone to be at the middle of the body; and its lower to be at the middle of the lower half of the body;
 ly, the heights of the body would be as follow, viz.

t 2 $\frac{1}{2}$; Bishop Elgar 6 feet $\frac{1}{2}$; Bishop Ednoth 6 feet 3; Duke Brithnoth 6 feet 9.

ere are of all lengths of full-grown subjects from that downwards to nine inches and an half, which is the

s of its gristles.

le above the very middle point of the body, and, as I imagine, none of the subjects of which I have the bones
 that the four Bishops above-mentioned were indeed tall men, that is, about six feet; and that the Duke was

OSS
AD EC
POS
TANDE

WLSTANVS
ARCHIEPVS
EBOR. OBIIT
A. D. MXXIII.

OSMVNDVS
EPVS E SVEDIA
OBIIT CIRCA
A. D. MLXVII.

AI
NOTHVS
ELM VMBRIOR.
SVX
A. D. O CÆSVS
DANIS
CCCCXCI.

The exact Length of some of the principa

769.

Os Femoris, or Thigh
Tibia, or greater Bone
Os Humeri, or Arm Bone
Ulna, or *Cubitus*, of the
Clavicula, or Collar Bone
N. B. Those mark

On the Length of the
SUPPOSING, as in the ordinary proportion, the upper
or, in other words, that the thigh-bone is $\frac{1}{2}$ of the length of the body;
Archbishop Wlstan 6 feet 1; Bis

THE longest thigh-bone in my collection is under nine
length of the thigh-bone of the famous dwarf Leather-co
N. B. THE obliquity of the thigh-bone will be nearly 1 which is the

UPON the whole, as the upper extremity of the thigh-
were more than six feet and one or two inches, we may
about six feet six or seven inches. ve the bones
the Duke was

inclosed in seven distinct cells or cavities, each twenty-two inches in length, seven broad, and eighteen deep, made within the wall under their painted effigies; but in that under duke Brithnoth's there were no remains of the head, though we searched diligently, and found most, if not all his other bones almost entire, and those remarkable for their length, and proportionably strong; which also agrees with what is recorded by the same historian in regard to the duke's person, viz. that he was "*viribus robustus, corpore maximus.*" This will more clearly appear by an exact measurement I have taken, and annexed hereto, of so many of the principal bones of these persons as are remaining entire; by which a probable estimate may be formed of the stature both of the duke, and of the rest.

THE remains of these seven worthies are now deposited in a void space, within an arch, on the south side of Bishop West's chapel (wherein was formerly his effigies) and are inclosed in separate cells, and in the same order as we found them; and in the front of them is placed a row of small Gothic niches of stone, corresponding with the cells, which are severally inscribed with the name and date of the death of each person whose bones it contains; and in the upper part, over the niches, is the inscription in the page annexed.

I TAKE this opportunity of adding another particular respecting the Antiquities of this Isle, which has lately occurred to me; that whereas some have entertained a doubt whether the Romans ever visited the Isle of Ely, a late discovery seems to authorise the opinion, that they were not unacquainted with these parts. About six miles north of this city, a small distance from Littleport, are seen the traces of a river, now called the *Old Croft River*; which was formerly the natural course of the *Ouse*, leading to Wisbech; and which, according to tradition, was the ancient

communi-

communication between this place and the sea; and indeed, by the manifold windings of it, seems to have been the natural course, before this country was altered and disfigured by a variety of artificial cuts; and the waters of the Oose thereby diverted from their old natural channel, and, by a new cut, turned towards Lynn Regis, which is now the out-fall to the sea; so that the old deserted channel is almost grown up with soil. On occasion of forming a new turnpike road between this place and Denver, towards Lynn Regis, it was thought expedient to open part of the bed of the old deserted channel; both for the sake of materials to raise the road (to which it is contiguous) and also of making a small navigable canal towards the town of Littleport. About two months ago, underneath the silt, in the bottom of this deserted channel, at about the depth of ten feet, the labourers accidentally met with several Roman coins of middle brass, lying close together; and with them also a small iron padlock, of a spherical form, about the size of a small tennis-ball, through the loop of which was found hanging an iron staple, with the appearance of rotten wood at the ends of it. They brought me the padlock, and most of the coins, which I have now in my possession. There are of Hadrian three, of Sabina Augusta Hadriani one, Antoninus Pius two, Diva Faustina three, M. Antoninus seven, Lucilla Augusta two, Commodus two, Gordianus one; and eight others, not very legible.

I am, with great respect,

Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

JAMES BENTHAM.

I N D E X.

I N D E X.

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ERRATA & ADDENDA.

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41. l. 19. read Davidson.
69. add to the second paragraph, On these borders or boundaries, the Eastern nations used to plant *Palm-trees*, by way of distinguishing their property. The Palm was called *Tamar*, *𐤕𐤌*, from whence they by an easy transposition of letters formed their *rigua*, i. e. *terminus*, *finis*, and the Latins their *Terme* and *Terminus*, in the same sense. For the same reason I conceive the Turks called the allotments of land to the soldiery upon a principal of tenure like that of the feudal system, *Timari*, that is, military lands allotted to the military tenants, bounded and distinguished by *Palm*, or *Timari*; and the possessors, *Timariets*.
153. last line of notes *dele* nostram, and read Lib.

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Page 33. note, see plate I. fig. 3.

54. note b, read Olenacum.

82. note a, dele comma after Verulæ.

213. note g, read Archæologia I. p. 380.